

Interview with David M. Winn

The Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training Foreign Affairs Oral History Project

DAVID WINN

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Q: Today is February 28th, 2002. This is an interview with David M. Winn. This is being done on behalf of the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training and I'm Charles Stuart Kennedy. All right, well, let's start at the beginning. Could you tell me when and where you were born and a little about your family?

WINN: I was born in Dallas, Texas, February 27, 1942.

Q: *Well, happy birthday.*

WINN: Thank you very much and I'm still reeling from that. My parents and their parents were born and bred in Dallas, grew up in Dallas, practically founded the city.

Q: *I was going to say, it's not that, I mean you really have to, mean about two generations and you're right back.*

WINN: Right back to when there was nothing there.

Q: Yes.

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WINN: That's right. Their family came to Texas in the mid-1800s. My father was a doctor, was a psychiatrist of all things and I grew up in Dallas. My mother had gone off to school on the East Coast, but came back and became a professional painter and activist in the Democratic Party. She was always very political. My father was political. I grew up right there in the public schools in Dallas.

Q: All right, well, let's go back a bit. With your father, where did he get his psychiatric training and all?

WINN: He went to undergraduate Southern Methodist University in Dallas and was a graduate of Baylor Medical School and did his internship up at Bellevue in New York and then came back to Dallas and practiced the rest of his life in Dallas.

Q: Your mother's maiden name and where did her family come from?

WINN: Smith. Her maiden name was Smith and as far as we know from pretty good records from Tennessee originally. My father, too, I think his family came from Virginia.

Q: Where did your mother go to school?

WINN: Swarthmore College as did I and as did my sister.

Q: Well, your family, how big was your family, I mean your, you have a sister?

WINN: I have one sister who now lives in San Francisco and is now head of the University of California Extension Services. We had numerous aunts and uncles on both sides of the family, many of whom stayed in Texas and many of whom left and scattered around the country.

Q: What about, you went to what the Dallas public schools?

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WINN: Went through the Dallas public schools, and people always asked me how on earth did you get interested in the Foreign Service from a rather insular Texas? I got interested in the Foreign Service when I must have been ten years old, reading Richard Haliburton's Book of Marvels.

Q: Richard Haliburton was rather prominent particularly in thigeneration.

WINN: That's it, and I remember reading to this day, remember reading Richard Haliburton and saying, "I've got to do this. I've got to figure out how to travel." I remember, in fact, reading about Petra and little knowing that 20 years later I would end up in Petra, but so I said to myself subliminally I want to somehow get in a career overseas, but I grew up in a medical family. My uncles were doctors also, so subliminally I thought I would become a doctor and be a doctor overseas.

Q: Did you pick up, sort of, what was the table conversation like?

WINN: My mother was what we used to call in the '30s a liberal (apparently a pejorative term was, although I proudly own up to it). Her proudest moment was a recollection of seeing Franklin Roosevelt, one of his, well if not his first inauguration in 1936, when she came down from Swarthmore. She ran Henry Wallace's Texas campaign for example. She was a rare bird. A classic lady liberal in the League of Women Voters. She was a leader in the desegregation movement back before there was even a term for that sort of thing.

Q: Swarthmore of course, we'll get to that, was a hot bed of thisort of thing.

WINN: Hot bed of liberalism. Still is.

Q: They corrupted these damsels from the south.

WINN: That's right. Swarthmore in many ways was the high point of her life. She always remembered the school. I had a less happy experience there, although my sister had

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an ecstatically happy experience there. My father as I say was an apolitical Republican. He just kind of wanted to be left alone on the political front. It was quite amusing, but my mother was the torch-bearer.

Q: So, you were born in '42. So, we're talking about the early '50 when you began to probably be aware of what was going on.

WINN: I need to and listen to her rail on about that idiot Dwight Eisenhower and Mamie Eisenhower's bangs and that sort of thing and my father would sort of hunker down. Those are my early memories of politics.

Q: Starting sort of with elementary school, what sort of turned you on? What did you find yourself interested in as you started your early schooling?

WINN: Gosh, elementary school. I must have had the world's happiest childhood, to have grown up from the age of four on in the same house and on a block with seven other boys my age. My vivid memories of that period are not so much school, which was pleasant enough, but baseball after school and just playing and riding our bicycles. I certainly didn't have a lonely childhood, unlike my sister. There were no other girls on the block. I would say music. My big regret in life. You know these people who say, "I have no regrets" just don't have any imagination. I have a lot of regrets, and the big regret I have is not sticking with the piano, because I'm quite musical. I got into the band early and played clarinet because the piano was too solitary, and I've always regretted not sticking with the piano and not being very good on any instrument. So, the wonderful afternoons of baseball, no one plays baseball in the afternoon any more, and music and band, those are my pleasant memories. Then, by the teenage years of course puberty set in and basically chasing girls. I guess when looking back at particularly junior high and high school I was mainly just kind of an obnoxious showoff - a prima donna frankly as I look back with some embarrassment. Although we still have high school reunions. Always in the back of my mind I was thinking

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I have to go abroad, and then this seminal event occurred at the end of my junior year in high school, unless you want to stick to elementary school.

Q: No, I think we'll go on to high school.

WINN: I was chosen to be an exchange student in Greece with the American Field Service. I'm not sure it still exists.

Q: Oh yes, it's still a very strong organization, yes.

WINN: It was not a whole year program at that time. I went to Greece for a summer, and that changed my life, although you could say the mere fact that I so aggressively applied for the program suggests I was wired for it in the first place. I went to Greece in 1959 at a time when not a lot of people went to Greece, I mean they were still literally getting over the civil war there.

Q: Oh, yes.

WINN: That was it, I was hooked.

Q: Where did you go in Greece?

WINN: I lived with a family in a suburb of Athens, a very well-to-do dentist. Indeed, he was a dentist to the king.

Q: Which suburb?

WINN: Kifisia. At that time it was far out of the city, and you'd leave the city to get to it. Of course it's now to my horror one huge conglomeration. But the mother of that family was much like my mother - very activist, very energetic. I mean this kind of thing turns into quite a tale. I am in intimate touch with these people to this day and the parents are still alive, but more to the point they had three boys in that family. One of whom entered the Greek

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Foreign Service, became an ambassador to several countries and now is the head of the Greek Intelligence Service. So, we remain, I remain in the most intimate touch with that family 43 years later. Both parents just turned 87! One of the boys died of cancer, but the other two are doing fine. That changed my life, I must say.

Q: Did you get involved at all or get a feel while you were there, I mean having come from your activist mother, your political antenna must have been pretty well developed. Were you getting a feel where they were? Because this is, I mean the right and the left were pretty well divided.

WINN: They were on the right, no question about it. You could still see bullet holes all over Athens and she used to talk about it. "You'll never understand what the Communists are like, you know, we lived through this." In fact she grew up in Smyrna and recalled the burning of the city. She was a young girl.

Q: *In 1922?*

WINN: That's right, but she can still remember it, so between the Turks and the communists, that's all I heard about all summer. The father's mother was British, so he has kind of a patrician air about him. They had a summer home on the island of Spetsoa, and I used to sit out on the balcony. Across the way from Cairo I could barely hear Arabic on the radio, and I said to myself, "I've got to stick with this Middle East thing, this whole Eastern Mediterranean thing. Some day I'm going to learn Arabic, and of course I did."Q: When you were in high school there seems to be one theme that runs through most men who became Foreign Service Officers. They chased girls at a certain point.

WINN: That's right.

Q: *But other than that very pleasant activity, what other sort of things were you doing in high school?*

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WINN: Music dominated. I was the first-chair clarinet player in the band and then drum major. To my embarrassment, there are still pictures of me in that absurd outfit that the drum major wore, and the Latin club and this club and that club. I thought I was pretty hot stuff in high school. This club and that club, the usual array of clubs. However, I distinctly remember when I went to Swarthmore, that's where the real world set in. I've always been grateful for that. I could just have well have stayed in Texas and still thought I was a hot shot.

Q: Were you doing much reading while you were there?

WINN: Well, that's all one did in those days you know. The Bounty Trilogy, Poe's Tales, Les Miserables. There was almost no television. I remember a flickering black and white screen and Howard K. Smith and all that sort of thing, but television really wasn't important. It's true, I can remember my mother watching on a flickering screen the Republican conventions back in the '50s and I have appalled and embarrassed my second wife by reminding her I can remember seeing Elizabeth II inaugurated on television. She doesn't want to hear about it because it reminds her of how old I am. Television wasn't a big thing. Obsessive reading was what we all did.

Q: My impression is that, I have a brother who lives in Houston and I found that when I visit there the Houston papers were awful as far as international news.

WINN: Well, they still are, Dallas, too.

Q: I was wondering about, I mean, I wouldn't think that international events would intrude very much.

WINN: No, no, almost not at all. I remember when getting ready to go to Greece and I went down town to meet a former American ambassador to Greece, who had an office in Dallas. I can remember putting on my suit and going down and interviewing him. I thought I was interviewing God, but as a rule international events, no. If it weren't for my mother

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constantly bringing this up, bringing the outside world in, it was pretty much this Texas navel-gazing. I recall the Korean War, Stalin's death.

Q: Swarthmore, when your mother went to Swarthmore, was this the?

WINN: Oh, yes, that was the motivation you know, she thought we all ought to go to Swarthmore. My mistake was to assume I would be a doctor. That was disastrous because there's no specific pre-med program at Swarthmore. You take the same physics courses as the physics major, for example. So, I spent my first two or three years in courses I had no business taking and the labs and so I had a pretty miserable time. I didn't have a great pre-med record, but still throughout that period was an English major. It finally it took me three years to realize I was pretty miserable. Just as I was about to apply to medical school I finally I was able to step back. I couldn't see the forest for the trees; the workload was so heavy. I said, "This is ridiculous. I'm beginning an MD degree; I was going to be a doctor so I can travel?" There must be other ways to travel and be happy, so thank God I didn't go on to medical school.

I made another mistake and I went to law school. I made the same mistake again. I said, "I'll be a lawyer and go overseas." I must say in Texas I didn't have the imagination. You got a profession. My parents grew up in the Depression, you had a profession and it was medicine or maybe law. Well, I came back to Texas and went to the University of Texas Law School and I lasted six weeks. I realized I was making the same mistake. I then said, "I'm just going to get a graduate degree in history and take my chances with the Foreign Service exam or whatever exam," as I transferred from law school to this University of Texas graduate school. To make a long story short, I passed the Foreign Service exam just as I got my MA in European History, in 1966.

Q: You graduated from Swarthmore when?

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WINN: '64. I should point out that the school gave me a real definition of “excellence” that has served as a yardstick for measuring people throughout my career. I think my two philosophies courses there, for example, were the most influential on my entire life.

Q: While you were there, were you sort of was the Kennedy charismand approach to youth and all that?

WINN: That was in full flower. I remember watching his inauguration of course it was the early days of all the political ferment of the '60s. I was pretty much a drone, just the classic academic drone, just spent my whole time in the library. I tried to keep up with these science courses, but you're absolutely right. The Kennedies gave me the idea for the Peace Corps.

Q: Well, you graduated in '64.

WINN: '64, just exhausted.

Q: Went back and you started law?

WINN: Started law at the University of Texas. Someone said, “You ought to come back here and get a degree back home” and all that. But again, it was from one drone ship into another.

Q: Well, then you lasted, what about six weeks you say?

WINN: Six weeks and I realized I was making the same mistake again. Remember the Vietnam War, the draft was now breathing down our necks at that point. I had to stay in school, which kept people from being sent to Vietnam where, by the way, ultimately I ended up going anyway. I had a very happy two years getting a graduate degree in European history and my parents never batted an eye. I have to hand it to them. I'm sure

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they said to each other how appalled they were. They said, "You know the guy's done this and he's tried to do that, let's let him enjoy school for the first time in his life." So I did.

Q: Well, so you got what a masters degree?

WINN: Masters degree in European history. I didn't really know what was going to do.

Q: So, in '66 you got it?

WINN: I got it and then they were after me to go to Vietnam, but passed the Foreign Service exam.

Q: What was the spirit at... you were at the University of?

WINN: Texas, at Austin, yes.

Q: Were there still, this was, still somewhat early days, but... WINN: Oh, absolutely, yes.

Q: But, was there an anti-Vietnam movement going on or anything othat nature?

WINN: Yes, there was that. We had the usual rallies and the usual teach-ins and that sort of thing. I remember Dean Acheson came down, actually unconnected with Vietnam. That was a big event. There was also SDS (Students for a Democratic Society). I briefly flirted with it, but decided I'd had enough of that sort of thing at Swarthmore. I remember all the teach-ins. Again, my vivid memory of that period was trying to approach Vietnam from an academic point of view, reading all the books. The government couldn't be all that wrong, I remember thinking. I also remember thinking, "one thing I do not want to do is get killed in Vietnam." That is always a great motivation.

Q: Yes, yes.

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WINN: But, I felt pretty secure. Once you were in an academic niche, you were pretty well set. I don't recall wondering much what I was going to do after I got this M.A., but I figured I'd just press on in school or something. My parents were amazingly patient in retrospect.

Q: Well, then were you picking up anything about the Foreign Service time was going on?

WINN: Yes, oh sure, sure, I would read the pamphlets that the State Department put out, but I guess I don't recall doing a lot of research. Just read the usual biographies. I remember Kenneth Galbraith had a memoir of his years as ambassador.

Q: I'm interviewing his son right now.

WINN: Right now? Well, of course he became ambassador to Croatia. But, I always had my eye on the Foreign Service, and I remember, assiduously reading throughout that period the New York Times and the Manchester Guardian, the Economist. It's funny; someone had told me that on the Foreign Service exam they're going to quiz you about Texas politics. So, I boned up on Texas politics and damned if they didn't. I took a lot of economics courses because that was my weak point, and I got that M.A., aiming at the Foreign Service, not realizing at the time what a long shot it was. It's a tribute to Swarthmore that I picked up as much as I did.

Q: Well, you took the Foreign Service exam, what in '60...?

WINN: It would have been the spring of '66. I remember getting the acceptance letter. Then I took the orals.

Q: Do you recall the orals?

WINN: Vividly.

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Q: Let's talk a bit about that. How was it constituted, do you remember the questions and sort of the thrust of what they were after?

WINN: I went in there wearing my little suit. They had three or four guys sitting sort of behind a table. It was a two-hour direct one on one interview. They asked me factual questions and then would describe situations, how would I handle them. I remember vividly, they said, "Mr. Win at the end of this, let us give you a piece of advice. You did pretty well in this interview, but you come across as sort of a cocky, you've just got to watch your tongue because you're not the hot shot you think you are." I thought that was pretty good advice.

Q: Really.

WINN: They just got tired of listening to me being condescending toward Texas and all that sort of thing. I thought that was pretty good advice. I'll never forget being prepared for them on Texas politics, which I had never followed and have never followed since.

Q: Speaking of that, I was interviewing somebody yesterday who was told on his, I said, "One of the things you've got to be sure of is that you know your states and where they are and they'll ask you what states bound Tennessee and all that." So, he was already for that. He sat down and took it up in Boston and he looked up at the wall and started to laugh because there is a big map of the United States and they were asking why he was laughing and he told them and they laughed and things went easier thereafter.

WINN: I remember kind of having fun once I got into the thing. Clearly I had too much fun, but this letter came later and said, "You're in and we'll be in touch." I was getting out of graduate school; it was time to graduate. So, I told my draft board in Dallas and they said, "Great, you're going into the army." I said, "No, I'm not. I'm going into the Foreign Service, look at this letter." They said, "We've never heard of the Foreign Service. It's certainly not

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a draft deferment. Get ready to suit up.” That's when I joined the Peace Corps and got to spend some of the happiest two years of my life.

Q: Did the Peace Corps exempt you from the army?

WINN: It did. The Foreign Service did not, but the Peace Corps did.

Q: You were in the Peace Corps from when to when?

WINN: The summer of '66 to the summer of '68 - an ecstatically happy two years.

Q: When you went there did they tell you, did you have any idea where you were going and how did they prepare you?

WINN: I applied for Iran. I was the only person in our group of around 50 people who actually applied for Iran. The others were just kind of thrown into Iran out of default, but I looked at that map and said, “Well, they don't have any programs in the Arab world, but there's Persia for God sake and what is more exotic?” Exotic was always the key. I said, “Rightly so, I can't imagine any place more exotic than Persia.” Off we went to training in Reed College, Oregon. We were all like-minded souls. All of us had just gotten an M.A. All of us were exhausted from school. All of us were trying to stay out of Vietnam. Again I formed friendships there, which are firm to this day. It was amazing; we all still stay in touch more than I do with high school or college friends. We formed a bond.

Q: How did they get you ready for Iran?

WINN: We went to Reed College, Portland, Oregon. The Peace Corps had a very good training program. A very good language program. They did falter on one point - the courses on how to teach English as a foreign language. We had a lot of cultural studies on Iran at Reed very academically oriented. The language classes, actual nuts and bolts instruction on how to teach English, which is what we all did in Iran by the way, was not so good. At the time, the vogue was a method of teaching where you spoke and the student

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imitated. It was always using your hands a loyou'd talk and they imitate. That's how we learned Farsi. It turned out that that just didn't work very well with foreign students as a tool for teaching English overseas. I was assigned to the University of Tehran. I lived in Tehran in a big apartment - none of this mud village sort of thing. My students were in graduate school, and most were older than I. To walk into a classroom is not that easy. At Columbia University they tell stories of former Israeli UN Ambassador Abba Eban. He said, "I'm going to teach for two years." Well, he ran out of things to say the first hour. Teaching is hard work if you don't prepare. They had a good program of teaching Farsi at Reed. We all learned Farsi very well.

Q: Well, then you got to.

WINN: We're running out of time and we've barely...

Q: Well, no, how are we doing on time?

WINN: No, I mean I'm worried about yours.

Q: No, no, no, no, I'm fine. You were...how did you see the situatioin well, Tehran when you got there at your perspective at that time?

WINN: I saw a population desperately curious about the West. Crowds of people would follow us around everywhere we went. Universally friendly, too friendly. You never could get a moment's peace. It was a nation desperate for knowledge of the West. It shows my naivety that I didn't see any resentment against the Shah. Indeed, we were there for the "2,000th celebration of the Shah's throne" and the Pahlavi dynasty, and I saw no indication of resentment. What I saw with my 20 something year old politically active indignation was a police state and Savak agents in my class and this almost sophomoric emulation of the Shah. We found that all hysterically funny, his picture in every room, and we were mainly were just amused by it. We didn't see the ferment underneath in 1966 and '68, I must say, didn't see a shred of it.

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Q: Were you sort of either under instructions or just used common sense not to giggle about the Shah?

WINN: We pretty much used common sense, but I must say I look back with embarrassment at the amount of mockery we directed at the whole adulation thing. I mean it's their country, but the way we would make fun of the pictures of the Shah and so forth embarrasses me today. Not in class of course, but still I would provoke the obvious Savak agent more than necessary. I was going to be the torchbearer of freedom. Those people weren't interested and they certainly didn't need any lectures on freedom from me.

Q: Where did the students come from in your class?

WINN: Well, that's a good question, upper middle class, very well to do mainly, including some women, but as far as I could tell, upper middle class, upper class students. After all this was a graduate school, not undergraduate and newly formed. I was assigned to it because the Peace Corps people knew I was going into the Foreign Service. So I taught at a newly formed graduate school of international affairs. Indeed, one of my duties after teaching English each day would be to constitute their library, unlimited budget, and I could order any books I wanted. I had huge catalogs of books to the credit of the director, who is still around by the way, but not in Tehran. He had to flee many years ago and now lives in Paris. He said, "Order any books you want," an unlimited budget. So, I formed their library.

Q: How did you find the mindset as far as things going on, I mean?

WINN: I had trouble teaching. As I say, many of these students were older than I and in a very rigid, patriarchal society. It was hard to maintain discipline, given my relative youth. It's odd that discipline was a problem for them at that age.

Q: At that level you wouldn't think you would have to worry about that sort of thing.

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WINN: No, but they just saw me as sort a young pushover and were bored with English. Q: Well, no, I was just wondering, how did they, did you find them inquiring about the United States or?

WINN: They were more interested in me personally, every aspect of my personal life, very hospitable, although I was never invited home. It was strictly sexually segregated, after class, despite the women in the class (who were by far the most serious students). I would socialize with the male students. I was warned, "Don't socialize too much." You have to maintain some distance particularly in that society, so I was never invited into their homes, although I made plenty of Iranian friends outside of the school setting, but there was not that much questioning about American politics, mainly social, you know, relations between the sexes. They were just fascinated that here we were, these young people over here on our own. They couldn't figure it out. They couldn't figure out what we were doing.

Q: Well, something I'm actually going back, but at Swarthmore and at Texas when you went for your masters and all, what about the civil rights thing?

WINN: Well, of course that was the big thing at the time, although I don't recall personally being that caught up in it, despite having listened to this at the dinner table every night, maybe I'd heard about it too much from my mother. You know it's funny, my mother was still enough of a Southern lady that for all of her activism with the black community in Dallas, and indeed occasionally I would find black people at home something unheard of, charity cases. My father was very traditional; he was appalled by all of this. You can't imagine two people more different. She still realized that society had its limits as to what Texas society could tolerate. Back to your question, while the civil rights movement was going on there in Texas, it seemed to me that my political activism reduced more around Vietnam.

Q: What about with your mother and what you were getting, how was Lyndon Johnson seen?

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WINN: I just recall him as being regarded as kind of a Texashyster, and we heard all about that famous election.

Q: Landslide Lyndon?

WINN: That's right. A couple of votes.

Q: A couple of dubious votes.

WINN: That's right. I mean I never heard a word of praise, if that's what you mean. I think it was only later that his political genius or whatever came to the fore, but I remember I wasn't living at home from 1960 on, so I didn't hear much about Lyndon Johnson.

Q: Well, back to Iran, did you have any since you'd passed the Foreign Service exam, did you have any connection with the embassy?

WINN: No, virtually none and I remember it irritated us at the time. In retrospect, what did the embassy have to do with us? We received our mail through the embassy it would be schlepped down to the Peace Corps office. In fact, I remember for some reason ending up at a party at which there were some embassy officers. They pretty much ignored us, and I remember being irritated. I thought, "You sorry bastards, I'm going to be one of you when I get out of there." I just remember them acting so condescending toward us, and basically being ignored. In retrospect, why shouldn't we be? They had other fish to fry. That said, I have always made a point of seeking out Peace Corps volunteers overseas, although my only real opportunity was in Dakar.

Q: You weren't a contact. Did you ever run across Mike Metrinks while you were there?

WINN: Sure, well not while I was there. Mike as we speak is in Kabul by the way, a political officer. We had mutual friends at the same time in the Peace Corps. He was a different group and he was one year before me.

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Q: He was up in Tabriz.

WINN: Up in Tabriz and a guy that was there in Tabriz with him lives right around the corner, and we've been fast friends these 30 years. Famous Farsi speaker and later hostage.

Q: Who was that?

WINN: Oh, no I'm referring to Mike. A former colleague you might want to interview sometime, a fellow named John Ziolkowski, but he retired now 15 years ago and he'd only been in the Foreign Service about ten years.

Q: What's his name?

WINN: Z-I-O-L-K-O-W-S-K-I. He was in Tabriz with Mike and later, like Mike, became a Foreign Service officer, and he and I have been fast friends these 30 or 35 years. He lives out here in Arlington, John. Went over and worked on the Hill. We were talking about Mike Metrisko.

Q: Could one date?

WINN: Oh, you were talking about the Foreign Service. The other contact I had in the Foreign Service was pursuing the daughter of the economic counselor.

Q: Who was that?

WINN: Oh, I can no more remember the name than the man in the moon. A beautiful little daughter: and I don't know what she was doing there. It would have been a summer there. I was an ardent and ultimately unsuccessful suitor. I can remember going up to the house and that guy eyeing me, wishing I was out of there. I'd love to know whatever happened to

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her. Econ counselor in 1967 or '68. I have very fond memories of exotic dating situations in Iran.

By the way, being stationed in Iran I saw the whole country as a tourist. We could fan out on the wonderful public transit system on numerous holidays, so we had a much greater opportunity to see the country than did my colleagues in the provinces.

Q: Did you get any impression, I mean, was Tehran one world and threst of the country was something else?

WINN: Yes, with the possible exceptions of the cities of Isfahan and Shiraz, one could go out into villages that were truly medieval. Tehran was another world, particularly in northern Tehran up where we were living at the university. That was a world unto itself, with elegant houses and elegant rich Iranians and the embassy crowd, and then you had south Tehran and the rest of the countrquite fascinating. Iran was far and away the most interesting place I have ever served.

Q: Did you get any feel for fundamentalism at all?

WINN: I have to say no. Not political Islam. We were ardent visitors of mosques and Shiite Islam ceremonies, such as the Moharam processions, but we never viewed it in a political context. Occasionally we would go down town, and I have discrete photographs that I took of the Moharam observances.

Q: Flagellation and all that?

WINN: Yes, and the tears on the buses and the sobs among the passengers, as we took trips during Moharathe whole bus in tears, passengers sobbing as they would listen to the religious talthe martyrdom of Althat had been told many times. By the way, the Consul General in Isfahan was Arnie Raphel, later killed in Pakistan, who married his wife in Isfahan. Robin Raphel, who is right here in town, later became a Foreign Service officer,

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quite the Iranian connection. I did not know Arnie well; only met him a few times. But I didn't make a political connection with fundamentalists or Shiite Islam, no.

Q: Well, then after you were working on this, did you have anfeeling that "Gee I want to get back to do this?"

WINN: Oh it confirmed my belief that I've got to get into the Foreign Service. You know, it's funny, I had Farsi down pretty well and it had absolutely solidified my desire to learn Arabic. We took a bus to Baghdad from Tehran where I first heard spoken Arabic in person. It had always been in the back of my mind, so I was determined when I got in the Foreign Service to learn Arabic; little knowing it would be years by the way before I got into the Foreign Service. That's another story, but it solidified my desire to stick with that part of the world.

Q: Well, then you left there in '68?

WINN: Well, in the spring, I thought, "I'm going to float back in '68 and join the Foreign Service," but to my shock I received a letter in Tehran from the State Department in the spring of '68 I'll never forget reading that letter. It said, "Dear Mr. Winn, there is a hiring freeze on, you can forget about the Foreign Service." So, there I was high and dry, no Foreign Service. The letter went on to say, "No, we're not hiring in '69 either for that matter." So, I said, "I've got to do something." Rather than just stay in Iran for another year, although I was having so much fun, I was still my parents' offspring and I said, "I've got to get a professional degree. I've got to go back to school, so damned if I didn't apply to Syracuse University and the Maxwell School, to get a graduate degree in public administration." I was accepted, so at the end of my tour in Tehran, I packed up and went back to school in the midsummer of '68. My friends in Iran either stayed another year or they relaxed in Europe on their way home, but no, I scurried back to school. I still remember thinking, "What am I doing here in the middle of July in Syracuse when I could

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be sitting in France, this is ridiculous!" But I went back to school. Q: In a way, I mean, school I guess well I haven't played the same gambut school was how you delayed things.

WINN: Oh, I would have been drafted with the military right way otherwise, yes, I would have been drafted. Also, I was driven by the imagined need to have a "professional" degree rather than just a liberal arts one.

Q: Also, it shows that you're doing something. So, you were at Syracuse for how long?

WINN: Well, it was about a 15-month program. I got my degree in public administration thinking enough is enough. If the Foreign Service freeze is still on, at least I can get a job with AID or something. I mean this is ridiculous. Again I got one of these famous letters, in the spring this time of '69 when I was at Syracuse, it said, "Dear Mr. Winn, welcome to the Foreign Service, you can come in on one condition. If you agree to be seconded to AID and go to Vietnam." I did. I took them up on that.

Q: Well, you went to the Maxwell School, when they talk about public administration, what were you learning?

WINN: It was a hodgepodge of courses. One could pick and choose. There was a lot on labor relations and all sorts of odd things.

Q: Yes?

WINN: I purposely chose my courses again towards international economics. I felt I could never get enough international economics. I remember taking statistics, of all things. I took a course in Soviet policy. I felt they didn't have much of a clear idea of what public administration was supposed to be. But, I made it an economics year. I remember taking an international business course. So, it was a grab bag of courses I had never really gotten around to in European history. Toward the end of the thing, I was indeed invited into

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some sort of elite civil service program down here in Washington. That would have been my backup with the Foreign Service if that hadn't worked out.

Q: Sort of an executive intern or something?

WINN: Executive intern, exactly. However, I was still so determined to get into the Foreign Service that I took them up on their offer to spend a year learning Vietnamese and then 18 months in Vietnam, which turned into two years.

Q: What was the situation you'd came back to, you'd been somewhere removed from it about Vietnam at Syracuse and all that?

WINN: Well, it's funny. I don't recall agonizing over Vietnam at Syracuse. Again I just hunkered down and pretty much studied. It seemed to me as I look back I just remember being very cold and very bored with what I was doing. I was not happy there and intentionally missing Iran and frankly all the fun of being an aging flower child in Iran, but I don't remember much about Vietnam. At that point, come to think of it, maybe I was past draft age, I mean I was getting on up there, I really didn't have to worry about being drafted per se.

Q: Then you took the A-100 course first, didn't you?

WINN: All my worldly possessions fit in the back of my car and in the back seat and the trunk, and I drove down to Washington. We went into the first day of A-100 right over here in Rosslyn where it used to be just a stoplight there. They greeted us with, "Good to see all of you people. Those of you who accepted our Vietnam offer, follow me, and the rest of you stay here." We said, "What do you mean the rest of you?" It turned out that those who had turned it down a few weeks later got another letter that said, "Come on in anyway." That was a bitter blow that clouded the entire experience, and some of my classmates resigned on the spot, and others resigned throughout the year.

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Q: I have heard people who went through that who really resented that.

WINN: Well, really we took it all the way to the Undersecretary of Management, William Macomber or something, and I remember him looking very uncomfortable at these indignant young people. We were right out front. He said, "We filled our quota, and those people who turned us down, they took a gamble. The people who took a gamble were rewarded, but they could have lost out entirely." I'll never forget leaving that room, while the others who stayed there had "real" Foreign Service careers, and they weren't about to get blown up in Vietnam. Remember we weren't assigned to the embassy, we were assigned to the sticks, and some of us got killed, although no one in my class.

Q: Did they give you a regular Foreign Service course or were you?

WINN: Oh, there were a few weeks of A-100, but they could barely wait to farm us out to the Vietnam training center over in Rosslyn.

Q: In the garage.

WINN: Down in the garage, and I never set foot in an Embassy for the next five years (except for language classes in Beirut). From the day I came into the Foreign Service to the day I saw my first cable was five years. Three years of Vietnam and two years of Arabic training.

Q: How did you find the language training?

WINN: Well, it was pretty good, but I didn't want to be wasting a year learning Vietnamese and so I rebelled. After a few months of Vietnamese I said, "This is preposterous, I've got a very solid base in French. Teach me French, something that can be useful. It's bad enough we're being farmed out to this program." So I succeeded in getting French, to my amazement, and was assigned to the part of Vietnam which was full of plantations and

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French people.” I didn't want to learn Vietnamese and I was seething with anger about the way this whole thing had been handled. So, I was a rebel pretty much early on.

Q: So, you went to Vietnam, you were there from when to when?

WINN: I went on an 18-month program from the summer of '70, and I extended six months in order to get Arabic, so I was there from the summer of '70 to the summer of '72.

Q: Where did you go?

WINN: To Long Khanh Province, which was about three hours by road northeast of Saigon, Xuan Loc District. We were all assigned to districts, not even a provincial capital. We were assigned to the lowest administrative level, smallest, Xuan Loc District, Long Khanh Province, near a rubber plantation, a beautiful rubber plantation. Long after I left, in 1975 it was the last major town to fall before the North Vietnamese moved into Saigon.

Q: When you got there, how were you received? How did they get you ready?

WINN: When I got to the Vietnam training center?

Q: Well, were you besides French, were you getting good preparation?

WINN: Well, there again, I remember us being bored. We could see even then pretty much the futility of the whole thing. Getting this kind of hodgepodge of various courses in again superficial public administration, a lot of lectures and slides; endless lectures and slides on the various defense forces, the semi-civilian defense forces, local level black pajama, and also how the paperwork on how to issue sheet metal to build schools. It was an odd combination of development and self-defense and that sort of thing. We also had weapons training by the way. There was a week at Fort Gordon, Georgia, learning how to fire various weapons, but I remember long and tedious lectures. Most of it was language training, but extremely boring stuff, all of which one drew on once you got out there since you had to invent the job on the ground. We never did figure out what we were

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doing out there. We were out there so Lyndon Johnson could say we also had this civilian program in the field. The military we were working with never really figured out exactly what we were doing either. I figured out what I was doing. We were driving out in these little hamlets keeping an eye on the Vietnamese development programs and again trying to stay alive, you know, not getting killed. But it was kind of a bizarre, very bureaucratic training, endless slides and lectures, endless charts on the Vietnamese.

Q: First of all when the military gets into it, you get into thwiring diagram.

WINN: Well, it was a mostly a military run thing, I mean CORDS, I haven't even used the term yet, C-O-R-D-S, basically AID with a heavy security component.

Q: Did you get involved with the embassy at all?

WINN: Oh absolutely not. No, the Embassy, I don't even recall going into the Embassy. In fact, I know I didn't. We landed in Saigon, but we never went to the Embassy, we went to some outlying building to get some ID cards, but, no the Embassy, no they never came out to visit me and I never went in to visit them.

Q: You never got one of these provincial reporters poking around?

WINN: Never, the only person that came out was Frank Wisner who was doing a survey from Washington through Vietnam on how the FSOs are doing who are assigned to CORDS. I never had once in two years anyone from the embassy visit. Although we were a three-hour drive, but I remember being irritated at that frankly. I mean, it's bad enough to be assigned to the program and then to be utterly ignored. There wasn't even lip service paid. Now, I was at district level. At province level there was a Foreign Service officer as Province Senior Advisor, a fellow who was on his last tour, Park W-O-L-L-A-M, long since dead, and then of course above him at the highest level was another FSO named Funkhouser.

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Q: *Richard Funkhouser?*

WINN: Yes, who later retired. He had been assigned to Vietnam from being ambassador to Gabon. You know the famous story. He was sitting out there as ambassador to Gabon and he got a cable that said, "Give us the reaction in Gabon worldwide cable to Lyndon Johnson's speech of last night." He sent back three words, "Gabon slept on." Then within a few days he was in Vietnam. He was the ultimate boss there. Johnson personally had him punished.

Q: What were you doing?

WINN: I was trying to milk it for all the adventure I could, and all the military lore. I'm not saying that the tour was not valuable subsequently, although it's not as valuable as some like to make out. I might have had a more useful tour at a real Embassy. I had a Filipino assistant, wonderful guy, and a Vietnamese. The three of us, this weird group, would get in a little civilian four-wheel drive vehicle and we would drive around visiting hamlets and checking on their self-development projects. So, what I did I would accompany this very conscientious, very professional Filipino guy, me just a body trying to learn the ropes and make-work development projects. I would do a tiny bit of political reporting for Park Wollam, never for the embassy. We did have a presidential election. I did some political reporting, but day-to-day I would literally reinvent the wheel. How do I get through the day without sitting in this compound, but without getting killed? One of the young captains in the compound there, he and I would go out and he was a clearly an intelligence type, and I used to find it kind of exotic to go around with him, probably a mistake, branding myself. He later became head of DIA, Pat Hughes, lives right out here in Rosslyn, so we became fast friends these 30 years. But, the poor major that was the head of our district team, he was wondering what was I doing down there, because I was officially his deputy and with an astonishing amount of authority in this team for a first tour Foreign Service officer. So, he was trying to dance around me and figure out what was he doing with this jerk he's got; he just wanted to run his operation. We lived in a Vietnamese compound, so we were

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the odd men out among the Vietnamese. Later on we had a huge influx of refugees and I actually had a focal point.

Q: Where were they coming from?

WINN: They were coming from the north as things began to fall apart in Long Khanh, a Catholic province. All these Catholics up in the north came to Long Khanh, already, full of refugees that had come down in '54. That gave me a little more of a focal point, working with the Vietnamese. I always felt, though, that I was never really in control. I always felt that the Vietnamese were always pulling one over on me, you know? I said to these guys, "We're outsiders in their country and they're running it." I always vaguely felt I was being taken for a ride and they knew it, but did my best to try to hold up and try to keep an eye on the U.S. budget at least.

Q: Did you run into the French farmers at all?

WINN: Yes, quite a bit. I didn't make a habit of it, but they did have one who was especially hospitable. He had a plantation about half an hour into the middle of the rubber trees, and it was something right out of Apocalypse Now. There's this guy out there with his beautiful Vietnamese mistress and he may have had a wife in Saigon. He was a very exotic fellow. I still have a picture of him. I would go out there by the pool and all these French plantation types and French Embassy personnel would be around the pool. One day I came out here and he said, "You just missed the Viet Cong. They came through here and kind of looked around and if you'd been here you would have been dead." That was my last visit to the pool. But it was so funny, this exotic world, beautiful Vietnamese women and mistresses and right out of as I said Apocalypse Now. But they pretty much kind of steered clear of the Americans; they didn't want us round.

Q: Essentially, they worked out a modus vivendi.

WINN: Modus vivendi, yes.

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Q: They would pay the Viet Cong and the Viet Cong would not bothethem.

WINN: That's right, they wouldn't bother them. This guy found me amusing and I found it kind of fun to go out there a few times and I translated some things into English for him. I remember we'd be there poolside and the American helicopters would circle around looking down at the ladies. Modus vivendi. Our problem was the Viet Cong mines. You never knew what road you went down you weren't just going to get blown to hell. The compound was directly assaulted twice during my two years there. That was exciting.

Q: What did you do?

WINN: Well, we were sitting there watching, I'll never forget it, Barbara Streisand in Funny Girl. In those days we had the old 16mm films and I was the operator. We were sitting there as we would at night. I heard a pop that I later came to recognize, a hollow thunk out in the rubber trees, and I looked around and the room was empty because my colleagues had recognized the sound of a mortar being fired. Then this huge blast headed toward the edge of the compound. Then this pop, pop, pop, rounds being "walked" closer and closer and I thought, I better turn off this projector. I followed my colleagues. Basically it wasn't a very determined ground assault, but I remember the noise, the sheer amount of noise that you just don't get in a movie, of rounds coming in and firing back. Then they put one of these gun ships that they still use in Afghanistan, it was bizarre. You couldn't see the plane itself, but you could see this line of fire that was emanating out of apparently nothing in the sky. They would just rake the areas around out compound. Anyway, that happened twice. I think we did have some Vietnamese killed that night, but no Americans. Some wounded. I remember a great fear I had for the rest of my tour was not mortars, but sappers. I realized that those Vietnamese could get under anything. They'd get under the wire and once they got into the compound they would begin throwing satchel charges around. So, we had to put a lot more claymore mines out. The occasional dog would come by and get blown up. As I say, as the only civilian, you get very familiar with weapons. I had an old grease gun, which was more of a danger to everyone else, of no use to me, but I figured I would go

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down shooting. I don't know why I just put it in the floor of the car when I went out. I'll never forget I was having dinner with Pat Hughes the other day and he said, "You know, I was just thinking about all the times we nearly got killed in Vietnam." I said, "What on earth are you talking about?" He said, "All those times we were out driving around and times at the rubber plantations. I later learned you know, that we had just barely missed an ambush there." It was news to me.

Q: What was the talk of you, I mean you were really talking to military colleagues, they were the people you were with?

WINN: Yes and it was all nuts and bolts. It was pretty boring stuff. I was the fly on the wall. I remember making a tape of a typical evening's conversation and I wished to hell I had that tape today, but there's always a radio crackling in the background, constant radio chatter. We were an advisory team, but the conversation was mainly nuts and bolts about this operation or that operation. We had of course U.S. military operating in the province. It was pretty basic stuff. The air of cynicism about the Vietnamese will to fight was pretty hopeless, but we were there to do the job. I don't recall much indignation about the demonstrations back home. I don't recall it coming up very much.

Q: Did you get involved in military operations yourself?

WINN: Not per se. I went out on a couple of all-day patrols, just to keep my side up, actually put on a uniform took a lot of pictures, just to be able to show these guys that I wasn't going to stay behind. I didn't have to do it, probably not a good idea, but other than that, no. The other unauthorized thing I did was to go around with Pat Hughes and watch him interview Vietnamese agents, which was silly of me. I was compromising myself, I said, "what a hare-brained thing to do," but I found it more interesting than going out and looking at chicken coops. But military operations per se, no. I have a vivid memory of one day when three American guys American guys festooned with war paint and bandoleers of bullets came out of the forest - they were what were called LURPS [Long

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Range Reconnaissance Patrols]. These guys had been out there for weeks and had just turned into animals. To this day I'm kicking myself for not getting a picture of them. They surpassed anything that Hollywood could have come up with. They lie in wait and kill people from ambush and then move on.

Q: Long range?

WINN: Reconnaissance patrol or something.

Q: They take them out of a helicopter and drop them and then they have to make their way back.

WINN: I remember thinking, how can they ever reintegrate into civilian society, but I guess they melded back in. Another of my many vivid memories we were all sitting in a jeep. I would go out with my military colleagues all over the place. We'd just ride around and we were sitting in the middle of the compound and one of the Vietnamese had his grenade launcher pointed up and he absentmindedly pulled the trigger. This thing went straight up into the air and was going to come straight down and kill us all. So, we ran like hell and damn if it didn't come down and blow up the jeep. The point of this story I saw so many accidents or would come on the scene after. So many people were killed in Vietnam from accidents. I remember a guy reached in his jeep to pull his gun out and a string had caught on the trigger and he just took a whole burst right in his belly, I was right around the corner.

Q: Well, I know that, I was, 18 months I was consul general in Saigon. This was '69 and '70 and I left when you. We had all these American civilians, but our main problem was accidents on Hondas.

WINN: Yes, I can imagine. Oh, the traffic, well, you know, I hit a little girl on a bicycle, that's quite a story. Sorry to interrupt you, but I'm on a roll. I was driving outside and we could never leave the compound at night, but I remember late one afternoon I was driving

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back and a little girl on a bicycle rolled up right in front of me and damned if I didn't hit her square. We were always hitting people. You know, these traffic accidents were horrific. She went flying through the air and there was blood all over the windshield and I thought I had killed her. I took her and got her to the American hospital and she had severe scalp lacerations and that was all, thank God. That was the longest night of my life. I thought I had killed her. It turned out she was fine, she also had a clubbed foot from birth. To make a long story short, I arranged for the U.S. military surgeons to correct her clubbed foot, and I've often wondered how good a job they did, what became of her, where is she now? When visiting her in the hospital I saw so many of these young Americans with their legs blown off. I wonder about this lady. She'd be long since grown of course, with her clubbed foot, whether that operation was a success. I tried to help her, I followed up in the six months remaining in Vietnam; she had this corrective shoe and whatever. But I extended six months. They said, "You know, what do you want to do next?" I said, "I want to learn Arabic." They said, "No, no, no. You can have pretty much any post you want, but you don't want Arabic. Another two years out of it. Do you really want to go and be on ice another two years without an EER to speak of?" I said, "Yes, I want to learn Arabic. I said that from the beginning." Finally they relented, but they said, "We don't have another class. You have to stay in Vietnam another six months." So I did and went off to Beirut and Arabic.

Q: Well, by the time you left, you got out in what '72?

WINN: Well, the summer of '72, yes.

Q: What was your feeling? I mean obviously you were getting the grand overview from what one small district, but what was your feeling about whither Vietnam at that time?

WINN: I still have my letters, and I must say there is a tone in my letters back home that we're on sort of the wrong side. I just saw so much determination on the other side and so much corruption and lack of enthusiasm on our side and so much cynicism on the part of

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the American advisors that I just couldn't bear it. It looked to me like kind of a lost cause by the time I left.

Q: What about the corruption side? Were you able to get a good view of that?

WINN: Pretty good view. I remember the then CIA chief came through there. A famous guy, brown glasses. I remember him talking to me.

Q: Colby?

WINN: Colby came through, that's right. He came out there and took me aside, more than any Foreign Service officer ever did I might add, and sought my views on corruption. I do recall telling him and he nodded knowingly. He was really up on it. There seemed to be quite a bit of corruption from what I could see. You just never knew, I always felt I was being diddled, the whole two years I was there, trying to stay ahead of the corruption, but never really succeeding. But a few I must say, particularly the Vietnamese colleague I worked closely with, some were extremely dedicated. I often wonder, were they all swept away?

Q: Well, then you went immediately to Beirut, they didn't take you back to Washington?

WINN: No, they did. The first year of Arabic was in Washington. Only the second year was in Beirut. So, the first year was again, back to FSI, but not down in the basement. The real FSI, finally I felt I was in the Foreign Service.

Q: How did you find Arabic?

WINN: Well, I found it wretchedly difficult as everyone does, so difficult I can remember at one point telling the FSI linguist, "This is hopeless, it's all a big mistake!" She just laughed and said, "They all say that." So, I stuck with it, but it was hard. I remember struggling, but

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enjoying it. I said, "This is what I finally what I want to do. I'm learning what I want to learn." I did fine and went off to Beirut, but it was never easy.

Q: So, this is probably a good place to stop. I'll put at the enwhere we are.

WINN: Sure.

Q: Well, you went, how much time do we have?

WINN: About another 50 minutes.

Q: Oh, okay, then we'll go on a bit. When you went to, you got tBeirut when?

WINN: It would have been agaieverything in my life is alsommer-to-summer. It would have been the summer of '71.

Q: I mean I know you're taking...

WINN: What I am saying, summer of '73. I went to Beirut in thsummer of '73.

Q: What was the situation in Beirut itself at that time?

WINN: Again, that was the heyday of the great the prewar days of Beirut, the Paris of the Middle East, but clear underpinnings of troubles with the Palestinians were restive. Black September came along the next year. I didn't follow Lebanese politics that much, but I can remember there were the beginnings of the camp outlying Beirut, by the Lebanese air force and there was a famous Israeli raid that flattened Middle East Airlines, the entire fleet out there. So, we would rock along with our Arabic, drive anywhere in the country without restrictions, including down to the Israeli border, and the problems with the Palestinians were a backdrop, but certainly nothing that even remotely affected our security. It just made it a little more exciting. Again, it was almost a replay of the Peace Corps. We had so much fun in Beirut that year. The classes were onerous and the Arabic was difficult, but we

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had a lot of free time. And all that we were doing was learning Arabic. Beirut was a delight and we had a wonderful time for a year.

Q: Did the embassy call on you at all?

WINN: The embassy, once, one time in that year I was duty officer for a week and I remember being terrified. "Please God, don't let... I don't know one part of the Embassy." All of the classes took place in the Embassy, but we never physically toured the Embassy, never saw any other part of the Embassy and I remember the longest week of my life was when I was the duty officer and I didn't know what to do. Every time the phone rang I was horrified. I wouldn't know who to call or what to do. Tom Carolan was the political counselor. I had a few phone numbers. You know, we had the usual frightened tourists.

Q: Can you characterize your fellow Arabic students?

WINN: They were quite a quite a bunch and to this day we're more or less in touch, you know. April Glaspie was one, later of Iraq fame, now living in South Africa. I'm in touch with her. A lot of Agency (Central Intelligence Agency) people. We've all stayed in touch, formed a bond in Beirut that is there to this day. The Agency people are either in pretty high levels or retired by now. Pretty much an adventurous bunch, you know, anyone who is going to take Arabic, there's a sense of adventure, an esprit de corps.

Q: Did you gather, either from the people there or your teachers something, a specific attitude towards Israel?

WINN: I think the traditional resentment. I must say, you know, we Arabists, we were going to defend "the people." These people, the Arabs, we were going to sort of take their side; I recall admiring April Glaspie. She eventually became the director of UNRWA (UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East) but in Beirut she was the passionate defender of the Palestinians with a sense of injustice. She also had a keen knowledge of Lebanese politics - certainly one of the great Arabists of the Foreign Service:

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absolutely one of the best. That was sort of taken for granted. Remember right in the middle of that came the '73 Arab-Israeli war? I'll never forget when that started. Again, curiously little effect in Lebanon. Oddly enough we just kept going along.

Q: They weren't calling on you all to man the battlements of dutofficer?

WINN: Not really, astonishingly. No, I remember being surprised at how normal life continued, but again, with little contact with the embassy. We would go up to that fourth floor and go home again, but we were never included in embassy life. I don't remember; I never met any of those people political counselor, DC it was another world. We did our thing separate from the Embassy.

Q: Did you get absorbed at all into Lebanese society or the American University or anything like that?

WINN: Well, Lebanese society not to the extent I did later when I returned as political counselor to Beirut. No, we were just kind of freaky little kids in jeans. We were just so weird and out of it with our Arabic books and what have you. I'm not sure we wanted to be. After a day of Arabic, we wanted to literally do our own thing. Occasionally we would be invited over to the homes of the Lebanese instructors. But, the Lebanese, I don't know that we knew a lot of Lebanese per se. April did. She always did, but we were interested in touring, partying, and touring the country. Jim Hughes, a colleague, and I discovered every inch of that country. Every Roman temple, up and down, all over Lebanon. It was only a year, but it went overnight. It went very fast.

Q: How about your, did you have your trip?

WINN: The trip, the famous trip? I sure did. Jim Hughes and I went down to Yemen and Saudi Arabia and you can imagine, Yemen in 1971. We latched onto the ambassador Bill Crawford and traveled all over Yemen with him. You can imagine rural Yemen in the early '70's. I got some wild pictures and then went up to Saudi Arabia when Riyadh was little

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more than a village. The Embassy indeed was in Jeddah. I went to Jeddah and Riyadh and then back to Beirut, yes we did the trip. It was wonderful.

Q: When you got out, when you graduated, how did you find you Arabic?

WINN: Well, it was pretty rusty because so much time in the course is spent in reading. So much work is involved in solitary pouring over texts and so little time opportunity for speaking. That said, I did have a solid base and once I got to Amman, my next posagain still a bachelor had nothing to do in the evening but immerse myself in Arabic with young men of my age, so I was really the embassy's "outside guy." I had such a solid base, I quickly became quite proficient, but I would not have been had I been married. Being a bachelor, I just forced myself to spend every night and every weekend, however boring, with these young Jordanian men who spoke no English. I was pretty rusty. I could barely order a cup to be fair, but I had an incredibly solid base to develop, thanks to FSI.

Q: Well, then you went to Amman directly?

WINN: Literally, drove over the mountains from Beirut to Amman. My first tour...

Q: You were in Amman from when to when?

WINN: It would have been the summer of '74, actually spring, I was pulled out of the course a little early because my predecessor, Pat Theros, had to leave. I hadn't even spent a full year in Beirut, but it would have been the spring of '74 to the summer of '77. Wonderful tour. Tom Pickering was the ambassador and I had the time of my life. Married there.

Q: Well, what about, what did Black September come about?

WINN: It would have been September of '73. So it had occurred just little before I got there.

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Q: That must have had some effect on you all.

WINN: Yes, although surprisingly little. I guess you've interviewed Bob Pelletreau?

Q: No, I haven't.

WINN: Well, he's the man with the stories. Ended up NEA (Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs) as the Assistant Secretary of the Ambassador several times. He was there in '73, picked up by the Palestinians. Well, anyway, he's the man, talk about stories. Sure, the dust was still settling, but that said, the king had by then so asserted himself over the Palestinians, those were the Halcyon days, security wasn't an issue. You had the plane hijackings, but I don't remember that security was any big deal at the Embassy. We didn't have any security concerns really. It was pretty much go wherever. The king so asserted his authority over the Palestinians that they just weren't a problem.

Q: What was your job there?

WINN: I was the junior in a two person political section. I was the junior political officer. Rocky Suddarth would later return as ambassador; he was the political chief.

Q: I've interviewed Rocky.

WINN: Well, he was a wonderful mentor for a new FSO (Foreign Service Officer) - a very conscientious one. Very nice wife. A great guy, Howard Walker, who lives right out here in Bethesda, later replaced him. My job was whatever I made of it. Basically I was the "street" person who wormed my way into hanging out with Jordanian young men. Rocky wrote me up very well in those years. I was often scooping the agency with the rumors, telling them whatever I was picking up. I was the classic young political officer with nothing else to do but scurry around in the souk and spend boring weekends with these Jordanians. So, I really got to know Jordanian society at a low level.

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Q: Well, tell me, how does this kind of work?

WINN: Well, it was whatever I made of it. I was also the labor officer. I would go out there and I made it my point to press the flesh. At least I said to myself, "They taught me Arabic and I'm going to use it as much as possible;" so I was out of the building as much as possible. It was taken for granted in Amman by Jordanians that I was an Agency type because I was spending so much time out with the Jordanians. I learned an early rule there. Those in the Foreign Service who aren't married move up in the Foreign Service because they have the time. It's a rule that seems to me that you have all this time to scurry about after a certain level that doesn't apply, but early on that's how to make it. When single, there's nothing better to do but spend hours and hours with the locals. That's when my Arabic got quite good.

Q: What was your impression of, I assume the young men you were, the Jordanians you were talking to?

WINN: Well, it was a lot like Iran. They were intensely curious about the West. I tended to hang out with East Jordanians as opposed to Palestinians. It was and is a strict division between the East Bankers, the real Jordanians, and the Palestinians. The Palestinians were firebrands, since they had their own particular viewpoint but they got less attention. But the East Jordanians were intensely curious, intensely curious about the West eager to pass on to me all the stories of corruption, while at the same time still intensely loyal to the king. They were resentful of the corruption and his cronies. Of course, they wanted a cut themselves. You know, they were... they wished they had more upward mobility. They were proud of Jordan. They loved showing me around. They always wanted to make sure their view prevailed over the Palestinian view. They were worried about the Palestinian influx. With striking loyalty to the king, irritation over too much cronies, intense curiosity about me and the West, we talked.

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Q: Well, I take it, I mean was there sort of a feeling about contempt or fear or something of the Palestinians?

WINN: Resentment, resentment that these better educated Palestinians or not even better educated, but just Jordan had few resources and to see them flood over in '67 in these huge refugee camps competing for jobs. So, there was resentment about these outsiders. "What are we going to do with them?" After Black September, you can imagine the resentment to say the least. But, there were Palestinians in high places, at the palace; they were after all in many cases better educated than the East Bankers, so fear and resentment, by all means yes.

Q: Were the East Bankers sort of a generation removed from the tribal?

WINN: From the desert, yes. A transition they had made successfully, unlike the Saudis who to this day amaze me that they are still out in the desert. Yet, a generation removed and sophisticated. They had this intense interaction with the countries around them unlike the Saudis. So, they'd made the transition very successfully and Amman was a bustling little town, a huge city now.

Q: Were any of the young people that you talked to looking toward going to the United States for education with the hopes of coming back?

WINN: The crowd that I was hanging out with, that would have been almost beyond their comprehension and means. This crowd, these were low-level civil service types in the Ministry of Youth and that sort of thing. I was really down there with folks who didn't speak a word of English, so they were the struggling young civil servants living at home. I was taking it for granted they were living at home. You had another echelon of young people, the young up-and-coming bureaucrats and the Foreign Ministry officials and most of whom were Palestinian. Or they were young East Bankers tied to the tribal sheiks and they were

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very wealthy. I stuck with the sort of the lowest echelon and I had a wonderful time. A couple of them I'm in touch with, incredibly, to this day.

Q: Was Israel much of a topic or was that over?

WINN: No, at least it was among the Palestinians, but I think to the East Bank Jordanians, Israel was just something that caused them to be stuck with all these Palestinian refugees, but they didn't agonize over Israel per se as a source of indignation surprisingly. No, the topics were of East Bank politics and day-to-day little corruptions - what scam this minister and that minister was involved in. The big picture didn't play very much in it and I would feed these memos to Tom Pickering - memos about "who is doing what to whom" at these lower levels, and what they thought of the King.

Q: What was your impression of Tom Pickering? How did he operate?

WINN: Well, I didn't I realize I was around a unique personality, since I had had no experience with Embassies or Ambassadors, despite five years in the Foreign Service! I remember the first day I walked in that Embassy having driven over the mountains from Beirut. Rocky Suddarth said, "This is your office." The safe was open and I looked at the cables for the first time in my Foreign Service career. I said, "Oh, this is what a cable looks like, secret confidential." I threw it in the safe and went home. The next morning I had a security violation. Now, I'd been in the Foreign Service five years and had never had a safe! I tell you this story to show you how out of it I was. Therefore, I knew nothing about how the embassy worked, five years into my Foreign Service career and I didn't even know what an ambassador did. So, I cannot imagine a better introduction than Tom Pickering who, as you know, is smart as a whip with a photographic memory. I would go with him as note taker and then he would correctly correct my notes later; just a photographic memory. Rocky quickly became DCM and ran the embassy as a DCM should, while Pickering dealt with the King and the tribal sheikhs. Tom was never a back-slapper, never a hail-fellow-well-met; wonderful wife by the way and two wonderful

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children. He would walk in my office as much as he would walk into anyone else's office to just find out what's going on and sit down and chat. I remember him as extremely personable, somewhat distant as I say, not a back-slapper but sharp as a tack. He never hassled me, never got in my way, never lost his temper. I served with many a prima donna later on and only later realized that I had taken for granted working for a real gentleman. I remember sitting around with the two of them thinking, "I cannot imagine that I'm getting paid to do this, it is so much fun. Between scurrying around at night and doing what I did during the day and then sitting around with these two great role models, Tom Pickering and Rocky Suddarth, I couldn't ask for anything better." I have golden memories of that tour. I remain in close touch with my second boss, Howard Walker, who arrived in Amman after never having set foot in the Arab world. Needless to say, he quickly figured the place out as well as we Arabist "veterans."

Q: *Oh yes.*

WINN: So, it was a sight.

Q: *From your colleagues and all and your own impressions what was the impression of King Hussein at that time?*

WINN: I thought there was a little too much obeisance paid, it always irritated me, particularly at that time. Every morning after an evening with these guys I would come in with a little bit of gossip and stories about royal shenanigans. I think Tom was irritated and pained by my concentration of the king's love life, which was exotic to say the least. He didn't want to hear about that. I remember Rocky saying, "You know, can you tone down these memos? We have other things to do." So, I thought there was almost a little too much obeisance paid to the king. He was just a young, cocky man then. Apparently they had it right. They had him pegged for being more of a statesman than I would have given him credit for. There was a close Agency relationship with him. I hung out with the Agency people quite a bit. You know it's funny, in later years in many embassies I've noticed this

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huge divide between the Agency and the State Department people. This was unknown in my career - not only were we always together in Beirut, but very close relationships, just hand and glove in Amman and in my subsequent posts early on. I have often wondered what has happened. I'll have to analyze that someday. Different FSOs, different types coming in, different Agency types, more gumshoe types into the agencies, they were pretty much out of the same mold back there in the '60s and the '70s, but they had a very close relationship with Hussein, everyone knew that. Chuck Cogan was the station chief then and has been on TV many times recalling those days. We became good friends.

Q: I have to ask, what was the King's love life?

WINN: Oh, my God. Well, by then he had been married to his first wife, an Egyptian, Dina, back in his teens. They'd had a daughter and then when I arrived he had just divorced a British lady whose name escapes me. She lives out in Bethesda, known as Princess Mouna. She was the daughter of the Brit who ran the Water Authority out there hanging out in Amman. The King had just divorced princess Mouna and had married a Palestinian woman whose name now escapes me, too.

Q: Princess Mouna is actually the mother of the present king?

WINN: That's right. Absolutely right. She was still living in Amman when I arrived and the ladies of Amman decided I was just the thing for her. That's a different story. The King had then married a Palestinian woman. He was just notorious for chasing women. I always found that quite amusing. I mean, it was quite open. They all just put up with it. I remember I got there and this little clique of Western women decided I would just be the perfect escort for Princess Mouna and I thought this was amusing. I'd never dated a princess and I was fixed up with her at various dinner parties, but Tom Pickering had a word with me. He said, "Back off. This is beyond just having fun. Don't go out with the King's former wife. Cease and desist!" Actually, it was Rocky who passed that on, and that was the end of

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that. Very brief. Another fellow you might want to talk to is Pat Theros who preceded me as political officer in Amman and went on to be an Arabist and later Ambassador to Qatar.

Q: Where is he?

WINN: He lives here in Washington. T-H-E-R-O-S, Patrick Theros.

Q: Was there a feeling that the king wouldn't be around very long, you know, assassination or something like that?

WINN: I hear what you're saying I don't think so. I think they figured they had a very good security service and his days were not numbered. When he gave up Jordanian sovereignty or authority for the West Bank, people thought he wouldn't weather the storm, but he managed.

Q: That was during your time?

WINN: I remember Pickering writing the cable telling Washington the King had given up the West Bank. In those days you would either type them out or handwrite, he always handwrote his cable. There were always security concerns for the king. No, I think it was felt that he was going to survive. Worried that someone might get him, but pretty confident that he would be there for a long haul. For two years I was a junior political officer, and for about a year I was actually the political counselor. Rocky became DCM. There was a year before they found his replacement Howard Walker. I had no administrative responsibilities whatsoever. I just had fun scurrying about and churning out reams of reporting.

Q: Were you... was the embassy monitoring or looking at Israel at thtime?

WINN: Not very closely. Rocky may have. I remember having some resentment when I walked in Rocky's office once and he and Tom were pouring over his overhead photographs of the Jordanian-Israeli border and they hurriedly folded them up. I remember being angry. To sit out there in Vietnam and then to be excluded from some of the councils

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in the embassy was irritating. There may have been more of that going on than I realized at the time.

Q: Did you get any feel for the political environment of the United States, particularly the Jewish lobby and all that, having its effect on our Arab policy?

WINN: Well, yes I remember Senator Javitz, Steve Solarz and I remember the king being especially cordial to Jewish visitors, but I guess it's hard to put my finger on anything except a cliché, you know, certainly that was the usual influence of American policy. I can't think of anything original to say on that topic. It's been around so long.

Q: I know it and we've learned to live with it.

WINN: To live with it.

Q: I think in a way we've housed a free ride until the last few years and all of a sudden it's beginning to catch up with us.

WINN: Beginning to catch up, that's right. So, something that you sort of took for granted. Again it was surprisingly little, you know as I look back, my focus was constantly on East Bank politics and I did little of the broader picture. I got to know every city official of little towns in Jordan. We were worried to that extent about the king's staying power, or whether the East Bankers could hold out against the Palestinians and that sort of thing. I let Rocky and Tom Pickering worry about the bigger picture. You might want to talk, as I say, to Howard Walker who replaced Rocky as political counselor. As I said, it was very useful for me to work for a real pro, who could view the Arab world from a perspective other than NEA. I learned a lot from Howard.

Q: He's now head of?

WINN: Howard Walker?

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Q: Yes.

WINN: He's now retired, but he was an Africa type and later became ambassador to Togo and Madagascar. He's now retired and lives out here in Bethesda. Although as we speak, he and his wife are at their house in Cape Town.

Q: Was there, I mean, you're saying by the time you got there after Black September, that the Palestinians as a political force were really spent?

WINN: That's right. They were just totally, utterly beaten. It was a total victory. They were totally spent, that's right. They still had positions of authority in the government. They were lying low and they were again the source of resentment of the "real" Jordanians. The East Bankers had had a phrase for themselves: "the spinal cord of the backbone." They were the center of the country and these Palestinians were just hangers-on as a source of resentment.

Q: Were there any sort of tribal groups still important?

WINN: Oh my God. That was what I concentrated on. This tribal group, the many this and the many that, I confess I've forgotten their names over the years, but we would spend hours, we the embassy people, going out on mansafs, going out there and sitting in the tent with these tribal leaders, the East Bank leaders, stroking the tribal chiefs. Hours we'd drive out there and you'd spend the whole day for lunch.

Q: Goat grabbers?

WINN: That's right. So they had to divide the jobs at the palace among the various tribes. So, that was my thing, the tribes and the East Bank politics. Funny how I've lost the names of them and I'm sure they're important to this day.

Q: Was there any spillover from Iraq or concern or Syria?

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WINN: Syria was always a concern. I'm trying to think what was iSyria was trying to invade.

Q: Well, they came really near.

WINN: Right down to the border and it was not while I was there, but that was a constant concern. Syria, less so Iraq. Maybe Iraq was a concern, I was not so much aware of it. Syria was always a concern. What were they going to do next, absolutely and the border was closed much of the time I was there. I mean the Jordanian-Syrian border; you couldn't even drive up to Damascus a lot of times. Yes, those were the big tensions.

Q: Did you get to Israel at all while you were there?

WINN: We would often go to Jerusalem. We hotly contested the trip to carry the pouch over, drive over there and then stay a night or two and then come back. The pouch being this huge orange bag the size of that coffee table in the back of a station wagon. So, that was fun to go there over into Jerusalem and stay at whatever hotel, American Colony and tour the old city. I later returned to work as number two in the Jerusalem Consulate General, but it was a different city when I returned.

Q: Well, you mentioned that you got married there. How did thadevelop?

WINN: Yes. Well, I was...

Q: You were just beginning your thirties?

WINN: Yes, actually 33 when I married and there were all these foreigners who would gather at the only place in Amman they could-the Intercontinental Hotel. There I met a French lady who had been seeking adventure teaching French for the Jordanian Airlines. One thing led to another and I married her. Renee, Renee Rangin. We married in Amman and Rocky presided over the proceedings and had a party at his house. We had

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a very happy marriage until she died 17 years later in Jerusalem of cancer, liver cancer. During that time she had MS, Multiple Sclerosis. The first symptoms appeared on our honeymoon. So, that was a long and happy marriage, despite MS and then liver cancer, as if she didn't have enough problems.

Q: *Oh, boy.*

WINN: But, we married there and never looked back.

Q: *You were mentioning there's this sort of a sub theme of how the Foreign Service dealt with the MS problem. So, we'll pick this up.*

WINN: Right. Sure. Sure. Multiple Sclerosis differs in every person. Each case is different. I have nothing but praise, pretty much praise, for the Foreign Service medical program. They have their formal programs for dealing with this sort of thing now; they didn't in those days.

Q: *Well, as you know, as you finish this time, you've now been in the Foreign Service for about seven years. The what happened?*

WINN: Well, by '77... let's see I joined in '69, came back to Washington in '77, shall I pick up there?

Q: Yes.

WINN: I came back to desk officer for the Gulf countries. I wanted to be desk officer for Jordan, but I was paneled into the desk officer for the Gulf countries only to learn that then they wanted me for Jordan. It was too late. I'd already been paneled. It all worked out in the end. What difference does it make, but anyway I was desk officer for Bahrain and various Gulf countries over the next two years.

Q: *Well, as you did that, what constituted the Gulf countries?*

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WINN: Well, in those days it was an office and still is ARP, Arabian Peninsula. Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain, the UAE, Oman and Yemen; it's the same group today.

Q: You were doing this from when to when?

WINN: '77 to '79.

Q: How did that work out for you?

WINN: That was my first plunge into the Department as a real administrative responsibility and moving paper, the whole grab bag of life in the Department.

Q: Well, it must have been quite a shock to you to get into the paper business.

WINN: Shock, shock. Bought the very house we're sitting in by the way when I came back in '77. It was a shock, you know, but I learned to deal with the paperwork. I vowed that my place was not in Washington, it was certainly overseas, but I did a credible job as a desk officer to these various countries. The list of countries shifted, but never my idea of fun working in Washington. Basically we fixed up this house, which was a wreck when we bought it, on weekends and I did my desk officer thing. I can't think of anything original to say about it.

Q: Did you find that Saudi Arabia sort of dominated the area?

WINN: Dominated the area and I was always on the fringes. I had three countries Bahrain, Oman, and occasionally the UAE were my three countries. Someone else had Kuwait and Qatar. Then someone else had the deputy that did Saudi Arabia and also had Yemen. I think it was Barbara Bodine, who later went out to be ambassador to Yemen. You ought to talk to her.

Q: She's still there?

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WINN: She just left and is now a Diplomat in Resident at the University of California. She was the Saudi Arabia desk officer. She wanted Saudi Arabia and Yemen at the time and I had my little countries, and John Ziolkowski, who I've mentioned, had Kuwait.

Q: I want to make sure I get it, Z-I-L?

WINN: Z-I-O-L.

Q: Z-O-L?

WINN: Z-I-O-L

Q: K-O-W-S...?

WINN: S-K-I. John Ziolkowski and I have his phone number here.

Q: If I could get it from you?

WINN: Sure, absolutely. He's retired so he's got the time. I sorof did my desk officer thing for two years.

Q: Were we looking at, taking Bahrain for example, this is, all helwas breaking loose in Iran by that time, wasn't it?

WINN: Yes, that's right. That was the whole hostage thing and we were, now that you mention it, so much of my time was spent handholding the U.S. in Bahrain. We had a troop ship carrier based in Bahrain, still do. CENTCOM is the term I was searching for. So, I had to do a lot of dealings with the military and Oman, especially the Sultan, who was relatively new at the time. The UAE was still pretty much a sandpit, you know, we had an Embassy over a Chinese laundry in Abu Dhabi. But you're right, Iran was the big worry.

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Q: I would think, as I say in a place like Bahrain, but also in the UAE, that there would be concern about a spillover into, I mean Bahrain has always had an Iranian problem.

WINN: I spent all my time worrying about the American School in Bahrain more than I did the Iranian, not to mention the logistics of building a new Embassy. Another fellow you ought to talk to is Larry Pope.

Q: *Oh, I was just corresponding with Larry. Larry and I served in...he was the vice consul with me in when I was consul general.*

WINN: Tripoli?

Q: *In, no, in Saigon.*

WINN: Oh, well, then we were all out there together, yes. We entered, you know he was one of those that turned down a letter or something and then got a real job. We're old friends to say the least.

Q: *He's up in Maine. WINN: Maine.*

Q: *I just e-mailed him a couple of days ago.*

WINN: Yes, yes. He's down here all the time. Yes, the Iranian thing, that was the hostage era. Funny I don't recall though losing a lot of sleep over the Iranians. I'm sure it was a concern, but day-to-day logistics was the preoccupation of the desk officer. Maybe the office director worried more about the Iranians than I did, but with three embassies, and all the personnel problems and the logistics of running three embassies, it was just a lot of nuts and bolts. I have to walk out the door in three minutes. They throw the kids out on the street here.

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Q: Well, I'll tell you. We'll stop at this point and I put at the end of the tape where we go and I'll pick it up when you have left this desk officer job.

WINN: Well, I went on to become the desk officer for Lebanon.

Q: Well, we'll pick up with the Lebanon desk officer then.

WINN: Lebanon desk officer.

Q: Okay, today is the 14th of March, 2002. David, we're in 1979 any you have moved over to what, the Lebanese?

WINN: The Lebanon desk.

Q: What was the situation in Lebanon when you took over the desk at that time?

WINN: Well, that's first of all, let me point out that it's a very busy desk, whereas I was the desk officer in two and occasionally three countries in the Arabian Peninsula office. They had one guy and one desk in the office of Lebanon, Jordan and Syria. So, it was a very busy time because of the huge politics of the area and the huge Lebanese community here, but the situation was that the Israelis had just moved into South Lebanon and were not to move out of South Lebanon until last year, 2001. So, it was a major, major business with that whole South Lebanon thing to boil and of course it was in the civil war, for lack of a better term, in Lebanon. It started in 1975 and was in a total frenzy by 1979. So, it was just the busiest desk I ever worked on.

Q: What were your thoughts as you came on there? What was sort of the attitude of what should American policy be and what should you do 1) about the Israeli movement into South Lebanon and this is still the Carter administration and 2) a separate thing, about the civil war and I guess the hostages and all that?

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WINN: Well, about the Lebanon thing, there was very hard work done to get the Israelis to pull back within a few miles of the border where the Israelis set up their own occupation zone and the UN (United Nations) established its own occupation zone and the occupation zone throughout South Lebanon lasted until the Israelis moved into South Lebanon in 1982. Anyway, what we did about that was just set up a new status quo in the South. The UN occupation zone, oddly enough, until, was the name of the UN outfit that policed much of South Lebanon and then we had the actual occupation, the Israel army in Lebanon until last year. So, we created a new status quo. As far as the war raging out there in Lebanon, there was not a lot we could do. U.S. policy, we reiterated over and over back to the territorial integrity and so forth of Lebanon and there wasn't a lot we could do. We did a lot of handholding, but we tried to the extent we could the other states out of that. The Syrians moved in on my watch, I think it was on my watch, maybe it was just before. So, you had this enormous Syrian troop presence and I totally forgot about that occupying the north. The Syrians had moved in just before I took over the job also. So, you had the Israelis to the south and the Syrians in much of the rest of the country.

Q: Was the feeling that either the Israelis or the Syrians would move out eventually or was the feeling that this was the beginning of the dismemberment of Lebanon?

WINN: It was actually neither. It was the beginning, a feeling that this was, well, it was the effective dismemberment when they both moved in, in a sense, but it was the feeling that this was just going to go on a very long time. The Syrians as you know are still there. Then there was the factional fighting, continual Christian-Muslim, for lack of a better term, and that calmed down a little bit when the Syrians moved in all the way into Beirut. It came to its height, reached a crescendo in the early '80s and actually when I was there. When I was the desk officer in '79 to '81 we actually had embassy families living in Beirut. We had dependents in Beirut, it's hard to recall. In fact we had dependents or families in Beirut until the Embassy was blown up in April of '83. People don't, we tend to pull them out quicker now. That was in the old days of the Foreign Service when it took a lot to take out the

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families, but it was also in the days before they were snatching Americans. It's bizarre to recall that. A similar violence now would lead you to pulling out the American families with a notable exception, Jerusalem, by the way, we still have families in Jerusalem. Any other country, we would have pulled out the families of the dependents long ago, but for political reasons we keep them there in Jerusalem. I'm speculating, but the Israelis would have a fit if we pulled families out of Jerusalem, so basically we just buckle under to political pressure and keep them there. Although anyone is welcome to send their family home, but whether they would get the support is another thing. I'd have to check on that.

Q: Were we doing anything that you could see to go after thsraelis from moving into a foreign country?

WINN: At that time, we felt we had done a lot by getting them to pull back to their occupation zone. They had been much farther into Lebanon and the exhaustive work done just before I took over the desk to get them to pull back and substitute a UN force, we knew that was the limit of what we could do. So, we did reiterate constantly, you know, that they should leave, but no one really expected them to and indeed when they finally did last year it came as a great surprise. Not a lot of my work was done with the Israelis. At that point we were so exhausted from getting them to pull back to their occupation zone. What you had though was constant Israeli shelling into the UN zone and to be fair, Hezbollah and the Palestinians lurking around there, the guerrillas firing into the Israeli zone. So it was one incursion after another, one explosion after another, who was getting killed. It was just this being nibbled to death by a swarm of ducks. That's what that desk is like. I loved every minute of it by the way.

Q: What about Syria? Were we doing anything or were we sort ohappy that the Syrians...

WINN: We were pretty happy then that they were in there just to keep the peace. It's funny, you know, the Syrians came in when the Christians of all things were under heavy siege. The Palestinians really had them up against a wall. You know these Maronite

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Christians, by the way are no angels, far from it. I can recall Tel Zaatar, they came in to clamp that down at that point which again, sort of threw up our hands.

Q: Well, what?

WINN: What were we doing? We were buying time, hoping. When I was on the desk, we were just buying time, trying to limp along with whatever government we had, trying to figure out what to do with the fact that the demographics had long overtaken the official constitutional arrangements in Lebanon.

Q: The 1930 census or something?

WINN: That sort of thing and trying to get the Christians to do what they finally did 20 years later. Indeed, I attended a conference in 1983 in Lausanne, this kind of thing. So, it was a lot of handholding, a lot of buying time, a lot of emissaries. However, I repeat the families were there. You could live a rather pleasant life in Beirut. It's funny.

Q: How about the Lebanese-Americans? What were they after and how did they affect what you were doing?

WINN: Well, it was quite an education on that desk. Lebanese-American in this country is a code for Christian Maronites, for Maronites. So, the Lebanese community here was just constant pressure on the desk on everyone to give more. See our goal, our concentration, was constantly on the Lebanese government and rebuilding the Lebanese army. This was a mantra I repeated constantly, "Let's rebuild the Lebanese army" and the Lebanese Christians of course had their own very fierce militias; amusingly, the heads of which I was not allowed to see when they would come to Washington. No U.S. government representative would see them, so we played this cat and mouse game around the city while they were here. They would invite me to dinner you know and want to come into the office, which was quite amusing. Bashir Gemayel, who was later killed, all these guys would come to Washington and I wasn't permitted to see them. Although I could deal with

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the warlord, the factions had representatives. I could deal with them and not with their leaders. There was a Lebanese government trying to get its status, trying to get prestige. My particular job, I remember saying they were going to have a statue of me cast and bronzed sitting there with a phone to my ear. The phones start ringing and it would end at the end of the day. Many of the calls came from the Lebanese Embassy, many from the Lebanese American community (read the Maronite community). There's no organized Muslim Lebanese.

Q: What would they be after? I mean, you know, you get these calls and what were they?

WINN: "Don't you realize our backs are to the wall, don't you realize we're being massacred?!" You know, even to the extreme limit of "send in American troops," which of course I just fell back laughing little suspecting that that's exactly what we would do later on. "Pressure the Syrians," there was a constant pressure to Syrians to pull out. By that time, the official militias had recovered their footing and they were in a position to then mount an offensive against the other side.

Q: *The other side still being basically the Palestinians?*

WINN: Yes, at that point. There was no Hizballahja word dimlperceived down there in south Beirut.

Q: *We had...*

WINN: We were perceived as a threat, you know.

Q: *Did we have just the peasantry down there?*

WINN: Peasantry is a good word, yes. It's funny how we regard the Shia now. When I was you know in the '70s the Shia were literally just the unwashed peasantry, a pathetic downtrodden group when I was just in Lebanon. Then in the '80s they became monsters.

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Now one looks back not with nostalgia, but certainly when you compare them with the Bin Laden crowd, not so bad. So, it's funny how they wax and wane.

Q: Well, what about the Palestinians, could we have any contact with them?

WINN: Oh, yes. Either they would be scattered among the Lebanese elite or they were in refugee camps. You know, we had a very active embassy there, scurrying about and talking to everyone, but not much we could do for them. Just hunker down in those camps. Of course you had the siege of Tel Zaatar, the Palestinian camp. That went on forever. Again, we just kind of rang our hands. That's where the Christian militias were just lobbing mortars into that camp for months.

Q: This is, we were talking before the Israeli invasion?

WINN: Actually, after the Israeli invasion, oh, sure but before the big invasion in 1982, that's when they went all the way up. Absolutely.

Q: Yes. So, let's talk, I mean what we're talking about now before that?

WINN: Yes, the Israelis at that point were way down in the south. Basically it became a Christian-Palestinian guerrilla war.

Q: How was it going?

WINN: Well, the Christians, the tide turned once the Syrians came on the side of the Christians, I would think were gaining as I recall, the upper hand. The ultimate siege when the Palestinians really had their backs against the wall was at the camp of Tel Zaatar right outside of Beirut where the Christian militias had besieged the camp and eventually overran it. So, that was pretty much where they gained the initiative and by that time I left the desk and went to Dakar. It's all kind of a blur. Much of my time was dealing with the UN in the south, a day-to-day sort of thing. There was really very little long-range strategy

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and I don't begrudge the Department for not having one because it was a pretty chaotic situation.

Q: When the Christian militia was pushing, besieging the Palestiniarefugee camp, were we trying to do anything to get them to stop?

WINN: Yes, we were. There was a lot of statements from the Department stop the siege and so forth. But there wasn't a hell of a lot else we could do. They were a force unto themselves and they were in a sense seeking revenge for what they felt they'd been thrust upon them, they the militias.

Q: Had the hostage taking started by then?

WINN: That was unknown. The hostage taking started one week after arrived in Beirut in '84 to be political counselor.

Q: That would have been when?

WINN: William Buckley was the first hostage. I arrived as the political counselor there in Beirut in let's see in January of 1984. The Embassy was blown up in April of 1983 and the marine barracks were destroyed in November of 1983. I arrived two months later in '84. Buckley was picked up three week later. We'll get to that.

Q: Okay, so we're talking about at this time in the '70's, wweren't much of a player, we weren't making noises?

WINN: Well, frankly no. That's well put, well put.

Q: Good boys.

WINN: That's a good way of putting it. That's right and then you had the Iranian hostage business totally distracting the U.S. government. Right there at the end of Carter's thing.

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Q: *In a way, Lebanon was not a player in that?* WINN: *Not at all, not remotely.*

Q: *I mean I was just wondering whether.*

WINN: Yes, I'm talking about the Iran hostage. No, Lebanon has nothing to do.

Q: Well, what I was wondering. I've interviewed Bob Dillon, who served there and others who have been there to see how the Maronites, particularly the ones with money can sort of corral the embassy, I mean great parties, beautiful women.

WINN: Oh, boy. They were the French remnant you know of the old Beirut. They were the only active lobbyists in Washington after all. At that time, the Muslim ambassador, the Muslim Lebanese ambassador who was actually rather ineffective, so they ran circles around him.

Q: Did you get any feel for when you got reports from our embassy in Lebanon, did you feel that it was getting out and seeing things or was it had it become captured by the Lebanese Christians and all?

WINN: Well, I take your point. It would be great if you would interview John Dean, John Gunther Dean, our ambassador. If anything, it was Washington who was captured by the Maronites. Dan hated their militias. After all, they tried to assassinate him.

Q: *I have interviewed him.*

WINN: Well, there you go. He had a French wife, but I don't think he was taken in by them. I think he was pretty independent.

Q: Yes.

WINN: I can't fault the embassy. I think they did get around.

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Q: Were we under constraints about the Palestinians, you know, Kissinger had made sort of deals?

WINN: That's right. It's all a dim memory. We couldn't talk to PLO, we couldn't talk to a lot of folks there. At the time I remember that was U.S. policy, you couldn't talk to PLO types and they were all over town, as you can imagine. That was the headquarters after all in those days. That was a huge constraint. Yes. We weren't much of a player to be fair. The Israelis there, the Syrians there and we were just trying to tamp it all down.

Q: Well, then what happened, I mean you were there?

WINN: I kind of walked away from it in '81 to go to Dakar.

Q: So, you left in '81 and that was before the Israelis brought thbig invasion in?

WINN: '82, yes, the summer of '82.

Q: So, is there anything else we should talk about?

WINN: No, I think we've exhausted Lebanon. It exhausted me, but loved it I must say.

Q: But, you say you loved it?

WINN: Well, I loved being in the center of the action after being in the periphery in the Gulf. I mean imagine I took it for granted as Lebanon desk officer that I would constantly be taking notes in the Secretary of State's office, whereas as Gulf Desk Officer I got up there only once.

Q: But, what were people visiting, in other words?

WINN: Oh, everyone, every Arab leader had something to say about Lebanon, so they always threw me in with another note taker, that sort of thing.

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Q: But I mean, still although there was this, the tension was raised by visitors, but the basic, the basic policy was still handholding?

WINN: Handholding indeed. The handholding became kind of a laughing stock, the Department spokesman talking about rebuilding the Lebanese army and preserving the territorial integrity of Lebanon, this mantra people would fall about laughing. I do not begrudge the Department. There wasn't a lot we could do. By the way the Lebanese never got up to see the Secretary, it was always third parties. We always tried to... the last thing we wanted was some Maronite talking to the Secretary.

Q: Yes.

WINN: Yes. So, it was just this constant, as I say I was nibbled to death by a swarm of ducks, but always feeling that you're in the center of things, that's for sure. Constantly you really had to know your stuff. As I approach senility, it's all gone, but you had to be able on that desk to draft a briefing paper for any number of senior officers just like that and it stayed with me for years. It stayed with me the ability the arcana of Lebanon, the factions, so you had to be able to work fast, draft fast and I didn't lose my expertise in Lebanon. That didn't fade until the '90s when I finally walked away from it.

Q: What about was there much contact with our Israeli desk there or not?

WINN: Well, I was constantly working with the Israeli desk in the Department. You know, every paper had to be cleared with them, while the fighting in the south continued. There was always some outrage against the UN. I remember once the Israelis shelled the UNIFIL (United Nations International Force in Lebanon) headquarters.

Q: Yes, this was a lot of the typical behavior, but also a lot of Palestinian refugees were killed there, too?

WINN: Oh, sure, sure.

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Q: I mean at the camp, I mean they...

WINN: Well, there was the notorious massacre at Sabra and Shatila Camp later. However, what I'm talking about now (UNIFIL) was little noticed by the press because only the UN was getting it in 1981, but I know that the camp that you're talking about was vivid TV pictures of shells, 90, 100, 150 people killed when the Israelis shelled a camp near UNIFIL headquarters. That was later. That wasn't on my watch.

Q: Well, the attack on the UN headquarters?

WINN: Well, the Israelis as I recall said it was a mistaken, some errant shells that sort of thing. The Israelis always hated the UN and would keep them off balance, you know.

Q: Did you believe it?

WINN: No, no, the facts were pretty well known at the time. It blew over. There weren't a lot of people killed, but to have a shell or two lobbed into it. You know, you got pretty cynical about all parties in that job.

Q: Veracity is not a Levantine word?

WINN: Well, no, no and of course on all sides. There's no one to admire on any side.

Q: Well, then you left there in '81?

WINN: Yes.

Q: Whither?

WINN: Oh, Dakar. I had had my eye on Beirut; the job of the political counselor. I didn't realize what was going on in terms of who was lobbying for the position and I wasn't paying very close attention. A colleague was paneled into the job of political counselor that

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I had my eye on and he was paneled into the job fair and square. I was just distracted. Well, I did something I have always regretted and that I have not been proud of. I raised bloody hell and I ran around the building trying to get his paneling broken to Lebanon because I wanted the job. It was a very unseemly performance on my part and particularly absurd, since the guy who was paneled became one of the legends of the Foreign Service, Ryan Crocker. I looked back with great embarrassment on that episode. Ryan has gone on to great things and as we speak is out there in Kabul. He did a wonderful job in Beirut and then became ambassador to Kuwait, Lebanon, Syria, and is now out in Afghanistan. So, I must say I'm glad he got the job and I made a complete fool of myself. Anyway, so a job came open in Dakar and my wife, (my French wife was born in Dakar) and I'd always looked at the map and there's Dakar at the western most extremity. I imagined the Foreign Legion and I said, "I need a break from the Middle East. Why don't I go out to Dakar just for the heck of it and cool my heels." Basically that's what I did. I went out and cooled my heels the phrase used for when you've been in the middle of Lebanon to go out to Dakar.

Q: You were there from '81 to?

WINN: Well, I was there from '81 to '83 and the minute I got off the plane I said, "Look, Ryan Crocker will someday leave Lebanon and I want to replace him." Well, damned if I wasn't paneled into his job for whenever he left. There wasn't even a date given because at that time it was heating up in Lebanon and not a lot of people were applying for the job by then. I did my entire tour in Dakar knowing that I had what some would call the booby prize of Beirut at the end of it. It particularly became a booby prize when the Embassy was blown up when I was in Dakar. Then you couldn't get anyone to go out there.

Q: Well, let's talk about Dakar.

WINN: Sure.

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Q: Dakar is the capital of Senegal. First of all, how come your wife was born there?

WINN: Well, her father was, as I say, French, and Dakar was the capital of French West Africa. He was the administrator at the Dakar Airport. She was born in 1953. She and her sister, for God's sake, was born in Mauritania, which at that time was just a bunch of lean-tos. My wife spent the first three years of her life in Dakar.

Q: Well, now what was the situation in Senegal when you arrived out there in '81?

WINN: Well, it was kind of interesting for Dakar. Leopold Senghor had been president for I don't know, I can't remember how many years, 20 or 30 years?

Q: Something like that.

WINN: He just died as you know a few months ago. He had incredibly said, "I don't want to be president anymore. This country needs a new president." Unprecedented in Africa, he stood down in 1981, just before I arrived, and they had a democratic election and elected a fellow named Abdou Diouf as president, who became the world's tallest chief of state who, while I was there, visited the Emir of Bahrain, the world's shortest chief of state. There's a hilarious photograph of them greeting each other at the airport. Diouf, at almost seven feet tall is greeting the Emir and he looked like an emu or a giraffe. Anyway, so Diouf, a nice democratic, intelligent guy, not some warlord who became president and you had this political oasis in Africa. So, my political reporting revolved around how many angels could dance on the head of the pin, since Senegal did not read high on the Department's list of priorities. That's what it was like being political officer out there. Fourteen different political parties, but it was a showplace of democracy in West Africa. In Dakar, I replaced one of the great Africanists of the Foreign Service, a fellow named David Rawson, who had grown up as a missionary in Rwanda and later returned as ambassador to Rwanda. Well, here's a guy who knew Africa forward and back and I had to match his political reporting, which was not easy to do. I want to give credit to David Rawson. I confronted

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him. I was reading his political reports before arriving and trying to educate myself on Senegal, replacing an expert on Africa, so I really had to do a lot of scurrying around.

Q: Who was your ambassador?

WINN: Charles Bray was the ambassador and again, you know I keep calling everyone legends and I have to insert here what a high regard I have for all of my colleagues in the Foreign Service. It is a remarkable group to work with. Everyone that I recall is deservedly a legend. Now Charles Bray after that tour came back and he was quite a scholar. He was the elegant epitome of a Foreign Service officer. You know, the silver haired elegance, and he had been one of the young Turks back in the '60s and shot to prominence. After becoming ambassador to Senegal he came back and conducted a series of memorable seminars at the Foreign Service Institute and said, "I've had a wonderful career in the Foreign Service. I'm going to walk away from it." He went off to work for Johnsons Wax in Racine, Wisconsin where to this day he runs a think tank up there. But he was a bachelor, divorced, elegant, spoke beautiful French and taught me one thing I should have learned earlier. He showed me what a professional can do in a country that no one gave a damn about, and how to take every country seriously. He was a wonderful model of an ambassador who said, "I am the president's representative here. I'm not going to make more of Senegal than it is, but I'm going to take this job very seriously." While it would be easy to make fun of the Senegalese with their pretentiousness, he never did. On the other hand, he tolerated with amused benevolence. He wasn't one of those pompous ambassadors. You knew you could joke with the guy, but he was an elegant model of an ambassador, that's Charles Bray.

Q: What about dealing with the Senegalese government? Did we have any issues particularly with them?

WINN: No, we were so thrilled with them, their observance of human rights. There was not really a lot going on frankly. It was a rare, rare visit for Washington. Indeed, it was mostly a

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cooperative relationship. We had no real disagreements with them. There was a fledgling insurgency down in the south Casamance region that I would go down there and report on. The most extended interaction I had with the Senegalese government was when Dakar Airport was chosen when the shuttle takes off from Cape Canaveral if something goes wrong, there are several airports throughout Europe and mainly Africa where the thing can come down. If it loses power it can land. One of these was Dakar Airport and it was fun negotiating the landing rights so the shuttle could land if it needed to. We had all sorts of exotic visitors for that. We had no real disagreements with the Senegalese. It was a huge regional hub of course from all over Africa—people take R&R in Dakar. I don't recall, I dimly recall just political reporting, but the rare visit to the foreign ministry.

Q: What about, were the Libyans messing around there?

WINN: Well, they were and of course... Senegal is a Muslim country, but the Libyans weren't doing a lot. If they were, the Agency was keeping an eye on it, not me. I made some attempts to make contact with the Lebanese community. Now the Lebanese community in West Africa is Sunni Muslim businessmen and they wanted nothing to do with me I'll tell you that. They were scared to death of me. They wanted to be low-key businessmen, keep us out of politics. So I tried in vain a couple of times and no Lebanese would even talk to me. If the Libyans were active there, they were just wandering around a little bit, but it was no big deal. The Agency, not me was keeping an eye on it.

Q: How about with the 14 or so political parties there?

WINN: Well, I would scurry around and visit them. It was quite amusing to read their almost incomprehensible French language in all of its various forms. They each had their own newspaper you know. Thank God my wife helped me. The other thing I did was cover Islam in general. I wrote a huge - we used to have air grams in those days - constantly reporting on the ins and outs. The people who ran the country after all, were the Islamic marabouts as they were called. Islam in Senegal was fascinating to begin with. Basically

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it was animism with a patina of Islam, the most bizarre things. So, tracking the two or three main parties, I've forgotten already, the main factional, whatever you want to call it, Islamic groups there who after all ran the country and named the candidates was kind of interesting. I'd go out in the hinterland. Think of the arcane nature of that and trying to balance it off against real democracy, which turned out to be pretty much. Remember Diouf? Just last year they had another election and his main opposition figure whom I visited frequently, Abdulla Wade, actually became president. Diouf stepped down. It's all very incredible considering "democracy" in other African nations.

Q: Well, now, were any of the countries surrounding Senegal nibbling at it or was it doing pretty good?

WINN: Pretty good shape despite the fact that it is a very poor country. The AID mission there is enormous. I think after I left they had a few shells lobbed across. The Mauritians got upset about something on the Senegalese border up north, that was after I left, but no one had any designs on Senegal. There were no border issues with the countries that surrounded it, some little skirmish with Mauritania after I left.

Q: How did the French view us?

WINN: The wary eye, sort of bemused condescension after all, my God they ran the country. I've forgotten how many French live there, much less the French troops. So, it was a French enclave and we were the hangers-on. You're absolutely right. They kept a close eye on us and I didn't have the closest of relationships with my French colleague, but close enough. He later went to Beirut by the way. So, intense involvement with the French community through my wife. I socialized with them constantly, but Charles Bray, our ambassador, had a very close relationship with a succession of French ambassadors there. But the lower level of French officers there, what did they want to do with an American political officer? They could deal with the ambassador and DCM. A wonderful DCM by the way, Edmund De Jarnette, later Ambassador to Tanzania, was a wonderful

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guy. He's retired and he lives down in Virginia. You ought to talk to him. He ran for politics before entering the Foreign Service and after leaving it. Edmund De Jarnette. The "De" stands by itself. So, it would be in the phone book under "De Jarnette," a wonderful guy. He was very patient with me, more patient than he needed to be. He had dealt with my predecessor, David Rawson, an expert and then he gets an amateur in terms of Senegalese politics, so he was a great guy.

Q: After sort of this bucolic period. WINN: Knowing I was going to Lebanon all the while and then.

Q: Well, you must have been watching, was it with interest? Horror? I mean the Embassy is getting blown up, the Israelis have invaded the place, you know, all hell is breaking loose there.

WINN: Yes, but again I wanted to get back in the thick of it and couldn't wait, but Ryan, who loved every minute of it, hung on and my tour ended in the summer of 1983 and there's Ryan sitting in there. Remember the Embassy was blown up, then Ryan was the first Westerner to get into Sabra Shatila Camp, earned many awards out there, including one for his reporting on Sabra Shatila. Imagine the first Westerner to beat the journalists after you know the militias went in there. He was exhausted. I mean the Israelis had gone into Lebanon in the summer of '82 and here it is the summer of '83 and the Embassy is blown up with Ryan in it. But he did hang on there until January of '84. They had to do something with me for six months. They had already paneled my replacement in Dakar, so off we went to Tunis for an Arabic refresher, the language school I attended in Beirut having been moved to Tunis in 1975. We tried to get to come down to Amman, did not succeed. Tom Pickering sent in all these cables and the Department made what they now acknowledge as an error of moving the school to Tunis. Its still there in Tunis, and now, 20 years later, they are finally talking about moving it to Ammabut anyway. So, I went to Tunis for six months of Arabic refresher. Pleasant enough little place, lotus land and that sort of thing. My wife had been diagnosed with cancer while we were in Dakar, cancer of the

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retina of the choroids, a malignant tumor in her eye. That's a separate drama and neither here nor there, so...

Q: Well, I would think the Foreign Service is not the greatest, mean you're not next to the great hospitals.

WINN: But, that's true, although a Senegalese ophthalmologist discovered this tumor in what was almost a routine check. He'd been educated in Paris. Once this thing was treated in Paris, which was then the center of treating cancers of the eye, Renee was able to come back to Dakar and occasionally fly to Paris for treatment. So, there was no need, there was never any mention once it had been dealt with of moving us elsewhere. After that it was a matter of monitoring her. It did later metastasize and kill her ten years later, but at that point we were freemedically speakinto go to Beirut. She had MS at the same time, but could walk with a cane and had hand controls on the car, so we were doing okay. We went off to Tunis for six months. My fear was that they would send me out there without a family. I simply couldn't leave Renee, I wouldn't have gone, but in the end, we both went to Beirut, despite the Embassy having been blown up in April 1983. We went to Beirut in January of '84. Then the ultimate chapter in Lebanon occurred two weeks after we arrived.

Q: Well, let's see, first you were there from '84 until when?

WINN: January of '84 to the late going of '85, unfortunately. I only stayed a year and a half for the simple reason that soon after we arrived they did pull out the families. To answer your question, I only remained in Lebanon until it would have been May of, almost the summer, the summer of '85. The most painful thing I ever did in the Foreign Service was to leave Beirut early. I had no choice. My wife had been evacuated for over a year. It was preposterous. She couldn't walk. So, I mean it was out of the question to stay longer. It was outrageous from a family standpoint that I stayed as long as I did. We got there in January of '84. I remember Ryan met us at the airport. It was a night arrival and we drove

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past the smoking remains of the Marine barracks on our way into town. Remember, the Marine barracks had been flattened in November while we were in Tunis, and they were still smoking in January. I remember thinking to myself, "This may be more than what I wanted to deal with right now," as I drove through those dark streets. Little did I know what lay ahead. Ryan left on February 5th and the days to follow will be forever etched in my memory.

Q: This is '84?

WINN: '84. The Shia basically took over West Beirut on February 7th. Just after I arrived, William Buckley was kidnaped, and because of the shelling and the general violence, most of the embassy personnel, but not all, had been moved into an enclave, an enclave around the Embassy. However, many, including Buckley, were still living outside the enclave. We had been, remember our embassy had been flattened, so we were living in one floor of the British embassy. A great generosity on the part of the Brits. The Americans were living on one floor and there was an enclave around that little diplomatic quarter guarded by the American marines because the Americans were still living around town in apartments. On February 5th a huge battle broke out. The Shia broke out of South Beirut and the Lebanese army just pulverized the city with random shelling. On February 5th everyone had to move into the enclave into my apartment and any others, namely the consular officer's and the DCM's. So, all the embassy personnel moved into those two apartments. We endured a night of shelling down in the basement. You could hear the masonry crashing around. We didn't know whether the building we were in was going to collapse on top of us. Incredibly, most of us, again not all, moved into that little enclave and we stayed there for another year. We had seventeen people in one apartment, that sort of thing. But a few people did venture out to live outside again, including William Buckley, who was snatched as you know.

Q: William Buckley the...?

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WINN: William Buckley, the station chief. He continued to live outside and was kidnaped. That's when we really did move inside permanently, only to emerge on rare occasions. It's hard to believe we were all still driving around in our own cars in those days. I was awaiting delivery of my car. Of course that was the last time we ever drove our own cars. After that we'd go out in armored Suburbans and that sort of thing, but each day after that, I remember thinking well into that year of 1984 that I could, off the top of my head, write a memoir and remember each day separately, as opposed to the blur of which was Dakar. The Ambassador then was a very controversial guy, Reginald Bartholomew, one of the more controversial figures. A lot of people didn't like him, but I did and we got along famously.

Q: What was his management style?

WINN: His management style was tight controhe had a bad temper, showed a lot of bluster, shouted at peopla real tough guy. I don't know why we got along so well, but we did. I think he had other fish to fry in terms of priorities, and he let me run my shogood guy to work for in that regard. There was none of the later micro-managing I later came to detest at another post. When he'd go out he'd have an Arabic speaker (me), we went through some couple of tight spots together. I mean I can talk about my tour in Lebanon for the rest of the day.

Q: Well, let's talk about it because the point is this is ainteresting period.

WINN: Then the Embassy was blown up a second time and I was in itthis time.

Q: Let's talk about your use as an Arabic-speaking officer. Is there so much, you know, before it was French was pretty much the language you were supposed to use, wasn't it?

WINN: And also English. By the way, I had a great Arabist working for me as political officer, Steve Engelken, still in the Foreign Service. He's gone on to greater heights by now, of course. The Arabic was useful when listening to the radio broadcasts in real time.

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The things would break hourly, half hourly, and many of the Muslim militia men spoke no French or English, so in that sense it was incredibly useful to know Arabic. To be fair, it was so hard to get out and get that information from the streets, so Arabic was extremely useful in these radio broadcasts. Something was happening every 35 seconds.

Q: What caused the Shia, who had been sort of an unwashed mass outside, but rather passive, to all of a sudden turn into a...?

WINN: Well, I think the Iranian influence... It was all post-Khomeini and they were energized. I've forgotten the name of the radical, something Musa, who was later kidnaped, killed while visiting Libya household name when I was on the desbut anyway, I think the Iranian revolution was basically an impact. Nabih Berri was the leader of the "tame" Shia community, but he was almost swept aside by these radical crazies. Then the ferocity of the Lebanese army's just random shelling of all of West Beirut radicalized people.

Q: Well, they were a lousy army or was it on purpose?

WINN: Yes it was on purpose because West Beirut at that time waentirely Muslim.

Q: The army being Christian?

WINN: Essentially Maronites, yes. It's all fading for me, but that's when you learn real fear. Of course as it turned out those buildings didn't collapse. The artillery shells would tend to punch right through it. You could hear those things whining in and then the masonry would pop through the wall, boy it was a sighthe destruction the next morning. But then, I mean, what a saga. There we were, the Beirut Airport was closed. Everyone was living in each apartment, there's 17 or 18 people in my apartment, ditto in the consular officer's.

Q: Who was the consular officer?

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WINN: I wish I could remember, a woman and she retired recently. Someone mentioned her name recently.

Q: Diane Dillard?

WINN: That's it, Diane Dillard, a wonderful lady. You ought to talk to her.

Q: Oh, I have. Diane worked for me when I was consul general in Athens.

WINN: She took the dogs and I took the cats. So, we had all these people and all these cats living with me, because Beirut Airport closed, so we all sat around there and said, "Beirut Airport will open and we'll get all the animals out of here." Well, days went by and weeks went by and we couldn't get them out. Most of the "dependents," the term we used the term I hate by the way because I later became a "dependent" had left. Many had, not all. My wife had left because she was so concerned about our two cats and we knew the helicopters wouldn't take out pets. She had gone to Paris. Thank God she was out. Many family members weren't, and they trickled out on helicopters. It was a big evacuation by helicopter. None of us knew though on February 5th the airport wouldn't open for, gee, for five or six, seven years later. We thought it would be a matter of days. Luckily my wife left so.

Q: How did you manage to live like that?

WINN: I kept my own bedroom and there were other bedrooms for the group these were pretty big apartments. That was the heyday of Beirut. Others doubled up at Diane's sprawling apartment, thank God. As head of the consular section, she had this mansion. The DCM took in hundreds, I don't know how many, but obviously that's an exaggeration he took in a lot. So, we had two to a room and people kind of camping. You learn to live with all these cats, which is most people's ideas of hell, but my wife was such an animal lover.

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In fact, she became a professional primatologist. So, I felt a duty to her to take in the animals, even though our cats had left.

Q: No, I've got two cats at home, so I'm a cat person. Tell mabout the cats.

WINN: Well, briefly, weeks went on and, in fact, I remember that when the cats moved into my apartment, at the last moment one lady appeared, a communicator. I didn't know her name. She was holding a box, a wooden box with a handle on it and it looked like it had an orange cover over the front. Well, the cover blinked and I realized it was an enormous cat. It was so big it just filled this box. She left and I saw this enormous head, big as a lynx. We let the cat go in the apartment and we never saw it again. He would stay in the back in the laundry room but would apparently come out at night. You'd see this enormous shape at 3:00 in the morning and carcasses would disappear overnight. Weeks went by and the situation became intolerable. Many of the family members had only gone as far as Cyprus to await their pets. Well, weeks in Cyprus... You know there's a limit waiting for these pets. They began to drift off the island and return home. Some stayed there because the Marines wouldn't allow pets to get on helicopters in Beirut. Remember, the helicopters were coming in and out all the time, but they would not take on pets. Reg Bartholomew, God bless him, went all the way to CINCEUR (Commander in Chief, European Command) in Frankfurt and said, "We've got to get these pets out of here. We're going crazy!" So, incredibly enough, they agreed to Operation "Noah's Ark," where on a routine helicopter run if we had all the pets down there at the pad they would take these cats and dogs. So, one night it was all set. We all got up at 3:00 in the morning to box up the cats and dogs and take them down to the helicopter landing pad. That big orange cat, damn him, we cornered him in a room and he began spitting and fighting and clawing. It was like catching a lynx and we couldn't do it. So, the other animals went out on that flight, but not that monster, who continued to live back in the laundry room. I'll never forget, you could see the ears of the big dogs flattened from the helicopter rotors. That's a vivid memory. Well, I still had this wretched cat and the woman stayed in Cyprus waiting for it. She wouldn't leave without her cat. Well, months and months passenow we're into September.

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Remember, we were building a new Embassy. Well, you wouldn't know, in East Beirut. We had rented a building for a new Embassy. We knew we had to leave West Beirut. It was a very difficult political thing to leave Beirut, very difficult politically. You know, we've always been in West Beirut where most of the Muslims were. That's a separate issue, but September came up and we had to go. That was the end of the cat, we thought. Push him out of the window! But, I couldn't just abandon it, especially with the owner still waiting for it in Cyprus. Incredibly, Bartholomew got permission to take out this one cat, but this time I had the Marines with those big gloves that go up to their shoulders, above the elbow for barbed wire. I had two Marines in there to help me capture it and put him in his cage. Again we cornered the cat. Well, that cat fought and fought. They grabbed the cat and he put a tooth into an artery of one of the Marines and blood starts up against the wall with a spray of blood, so the Marine let that cat go and the other Marine drew his gun, drew his pistol. I said, "Spare that cat. I will deal with the cat." Well, the helicopter left and I still had that huge cat with blood all over the wall. So, I sent a cable to this woman: "We are now moving. I've got to leave the cat." She was still in Cyprus. They'd given her a job there to wait for the cat. I hated to do it, but I had no choice. I wasn't going to stay in West Beirut for some crazy cat! Well, damned if she didn't appear the next morning. Now how did she appear the next morning? She took an all-night boat from Cyprus to Christian East Beirut and crossed the green line. No one was crossing the green line except the occasional guarded official. Yet she walked across the green line from East to West Beirut, then took another cab and walked to the Embassy. I said, "You're never going to get that cat. How will you get it back in the box? It's amazing you're here. This is against all U.S. policy. No Americans are allowed back in Beirut!" She'd taken this all night ferry and said: "Give me ten minutes." We stayed downstairs nudging each other and laughing and damn if she didn't ten minutes later walk down. The cat had backed into his cage with its damned big head peering out at us. She took another cab back and went back to Cyprus. So, we went to East Beirut and there began another saga, because two months later the Embassy was blown up over there.

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Q: Well, now were we under constraints about talking to the Shia onot?

WINN: No, no, we often talked to the Shia, trying to figure out who these people were. WE had traditionally been dealing with the old-line sort of "tame" Shia leaders in parliament. Berri was the leader there, the speaker of the house at that time. He did what he could, after all, I mean it was truly the downtrodden of the earth. I mean I'm not criticizing him, but suddenly these radical sheiks down in South Beirut became rather more interesting than Berri. Now we couldn't talk to them directly we'd be kidnaped but we could talk to other more radical Shia leaders, religious leaders than we hadn't before. So, we would do that and we also had some pretty scary militia fringe types around, too. I really had a time. "If this is Thursday it must be time to talk to so and so." There was endless amounts of people you could talk to in Beirut.

Q: Were you getting much from them, I mean, were we getting hit othe head for support of Israel or was it more localized?

WINN: More localized at that point. The militia leaders were taking the Israeli thing pretty much for granted and it was more localized, but so much of my time was spent trying to be sure there wouldn't be more hostages. Remember all those during my toumissionary after missionary was snatched from West Beirut and journalists were warned by the way to leave, repeatedly warned to leave and I frankly had limited sympathy. It's the old thing, you know, "I've been here forever, they love me;" of course they didn't love them. They were all snatched. So, that was the heyday of that and we were trying to survive and reporting what people were saying to us. There was very little we could do to be pro-active. The president at American University, Malcolm Kerr, was assassinated our days after we arrived, in February '84.

Q: Well, how about concern about your being snatched?

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WINN: Well, we would go out in armored cars. We would go out with armored Suburbans with an armed bodyguard. You would have your pistol at your side; it was scary. I remember our ambassador and the economic counselor had been kidnaped and murdered a few years before. So to say, "I'm going to go talk to someone today" took, I must say... It took a bit of nerve, what's the term I'm looking for? Well, courage for lack of a better word. You'd risk your life to go talk to some guy. Because particularly when you were up in his office you were pretty much a mark and we had one bodyguard. So that is I think why Bartholomew and I got along and with my political officer, Steve Engleton, we had all risked our lives to go talk to some scumbag. So, that's in the great tradition of the Foreign Service.

Q: Was there any feeling... I mean, was Washington kind of watching?

WINN: They were worried about another blowup. They were worried about the safety of us in Lebanon. "When are you going to finish that new 'annex' in East Beirut?" It was always termed the "annex" although we knew it was the new embassy and has remained so to this day.

Q: Was there, were people making calculations of why we were there?

WINN: In those days, Lebanon was too important. We had to make a presence. We had to keep a presence there. You could question why do we have so many people here and the answer was these people we will need them once we get into that new "safe" area in East Beirut, so keep them there. No, there was never any thought of pulling out the embassy wholesale. We would have been the only embassy to leave. I mean Lebanon was just too important. We'd been there forever. So, we never left Lebanon. People don't realize that. We never left Lebanon.

Q: Was there the feeling...who was our ambassador who was killed? WINN: Frank Malloy.

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Q: Malloy. I remember hearing a story saying that Washington maybe it was Larry Eagleburger when he arrived saying "you know you ought to get out more and see, and you know, doing what you were doing." So, he went out more and he got kidnaped and killed.

WINN: I can remember being scared. You would leave and drive out of that compound and you would think, "why am I doing this?" The ambassador traveled with a rather more fancy entourage. He had his car. Then he had follow cars and particularly preceded by an enormous Chevy Suburban with a huge snow plow on the front that would knock cars out of the way if they wouldn't get out of the way, and reimburse the drivers later. But he was the prime target, to be fair. So, it was a dangerous time and Buckley was still a prisoner, a hostage and of course, so were these various missionaries and journalists. In fact that's what I did later from 1985 to 1989 in Beirut with hostages in Lebanon.

Q: Well I was wondering while you were in Beirut, I'm sticking to Beirut, were you running across all sorts of people who were coming up and saying, "I can work a deal with the hostage thing" or something? I mean there will always be entrepreneurs.

WINN: The entrepreneurs were coming in and were being funneled over to the Agency in Lebanon. I didn't get a lot of those. I mean it's just not something the Lebanese politicians would even talk about with me. They wouldn't waste their time. Now the entrepreneurs, I dealt with them daily in Paris, but not in Lebanon perhaps. Just let the Agency worry about Buckley. Later, in Paris, I was inundated with would-be "go-betweens."

Q: How did you find, was the press corps pretty well gone by that time?

WINN: Yes, the great mass of them were gone, but they had quite a few press still there. I actually remain friends with some of those press that I met then. Charles Glass, Jack Redden out of Reuters, how Chief of Pakistan Bureau, they were there. The hard core core had left. There was still quite a crowd there though. I have always enjoyed dealing with the press by the way. I'm not one of those who shy away. I always thought they were

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amusing. I always learn a lot from them. I've only been burned twice. Once in Dakar and actually once in Beirut, neither very seriously.

Q: How did that happen?

WINN: I was dealing with a very young reporter in Dakar and I made some condescending remark about the Senegambia Confederacy (Senegal and Gambia formed a short lived or short-lived confederation). I made some condescending dismissive remark about it and I had not realized he should have known it would be off the record, but he used that. I got into a bit of trouble. In Lebanon again I referred, a woman asked me, "How do you like this job?" I said, "Its great. Its like being a herpetologist in a snake pit." That ended up in a Christian Science Monitor, but I've never been seriously burned. In fact I've really gone out on a limb. What you do is of course, get to know your interlocutor and if you don't know the guy personally, you really lay down the ground rules. Its very simple. But, I've always had good relations with journalists and found them very useful. That was my bread and butter in Paris, the Arab journalists.

Q: Dealing here in Lebanon.

WINN: My bread and butter in Lebanon, too. I knew them all.

Q: How did you find them as sources?

WINN: Well, they always had their own ax to grind, but nevertheless they knew absolutely the most excruciating detail about everything going on the ground. I never was burned by the way by an Arab journalist. They always assumed we knew more than we did. It always cracked me up. They assumed we were pulling the strings. An endless, bottomless well of information. Sure, of course, they would have these outrageous stories in their own. They each were in the pay of one country or another, come on. But still, I could still learn a lot from them and it was fun. Particularly when we had a little more freedom, not very long, in

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East Beirut and I could get out a little more and they would come over there and meet me. That was before the embassy blew up and we went back to the armored Suburban.

Q: Before we move to the embassy thing.

WINN: Were still in West Beirut.

Q: What about, did you have much contact with the Israelis?

WINN: I never did lay eyes on an Israeli. I've forgotten what the ground rules were, but its funny I had no contact with them. They did have an office up there actually north of Beirut. Maybe I had an occasional phone call. I cant remember the ground rules. Maybe the ambassador dealt with them. Either there was some ground rule, I've forgotten exactly what the situation was. I just didn't deal with them.

Q: What were you getting from your interlocutors including the resof the staff at the embassy about the Israeli presence in Lebanon?

WINN: That it was time to move on out. It was time for them to withdraw. I recall a time of negotiating the logistics of the withdrawal during my tour there gradually pull back first to the Litani River. There was a weird enclave up there north of Beirut, but it was mainly just to show the flag. But the Israelis were not a major factor oddly enough during my tour there, but Ryan was the one who had the whole thing prior to my arrival. By the time I got there I never saw, there were no Israeli troops in Beirut.

Q: I just lost my thought. Well, what about, you know you had before your time this massacre done by Christian militia in Sabra and Shatila, but what was the feeling that you were getting from people who had been around there? Was this done in collusion with the Israelis or was the militia getting out of control?

WINN: Oh, I think the Israelis looked the other way. I think we'll never know whether the Israelis knew they would commit a wholesale massacre, but they were in general

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agreement I think. In fact the commission determined that Sharon sort of looked the other way. Yes, there was collusion and the Maronites went in with the collusion of the Israelis. Well, Im not sure if anyone will ever know whether they, the extent of the massacre was predictable, but again things moved so quickly after I got there. Sabra and Shatila was almost like another era, another.

Q: Well, lets talk about, what you got to a new embassy?

WINN: Well, we had to, our living conditions in West Beirut were getting intolerable. After all February to September all of us jammed into these apartments.

Q: Who did the cooking by the way?

WINN: Im trying to recall. We hired a cook, although one of my good friends, Reuter's correspondent Jack Redden, recalls to this day the worst meal he ever had was in that apartment where we just dumped everything we had into one pot. He remembers a singularly horrible meal. We would send the cook out in these armored cars and she would do the cooking. I barely recall the food. I remember there were some female officers living with us, too, and that was still in an era where we could be condescending enough toward women to sort of leave that to them. I blush to recall, but as recently as 1983 that was still the attitude. The food though, I remember the main concern was keeping a supply of booze and wine. Wed sit there, we overlooked the sea. We were right on the sea. It was very pleasant out there watching the ships go by, aircraft carriers go by and what have you. The Jeanne d'Arc aircraft carriers.

Q: Yes, that's French.

WINN: It was getting so claustrophobic in West Beirut and the other pressure was of course, once we moved to East Beirut the dependents, the families could return. So, that was the intention.

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Q: Was this just I mean you know the families returning sounds like this was just not a good place to bring people back.

WINN: But, in East Beirut in those days was "safety." We'd go over to East Beirut for R&R. We'd go over there for a break. In those days, that was where it was okay. You crossed the green line, get over there into East Beirut and you know, it was lotus land. There were nice restaurants, the Christians, I mean that's where a normal life could resume.

Q: Nobody was setting off car bombs and things like that?

WINN: Very, very occasionally, but the car bombs would be down in a Christian area called Ma'almeitin, right down on the green line, but our new embassy site was so far up the coast in Awkar, that nothing had ever happened up there. It was well away from the sea. So, we chose this apartment building, a single apartment building to be the new embassy. We rented it and fenced it off, but the barriers were not yet up, but the decision was made to move, the pressure was just too much, we've got to get out of this wretched situation in West Beirut. So, we all went over there and we all looked around, I remember apartment hunting. I had this beautiful apartment. We all chose our apartments and we moved over there finally in September.

Q: September of '84?

WINN: '84. Then we all said sayonara to West Beirut, which we left there as "the Embassy" a little, tiny office in West Beirut. It reminds me of when I was in Kenya and I was driving out and I saw a tiny cinder block hut that said, "The such and such hotel under new management." Well, this was our embassy in West Beirut. We had a tiny little annex that we called "the embassy" and we had this huge building in East Beirut, which we called "the annex" for political reasons. The Embassy "annex" - East Beirut - is still our Embassy to this day. Off we went to East Beirut, we all moved into our beautiful apartments and we began. The as yet unfinished embassy, in fact the barriers had not been erected yet. They

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had those stanchions that the car would have to do several U's, which the bomber did very quickly, but no barriers. We had guards at each end, but we ourselves lived out on the economy just as happy as you could be. I bought a car and the families came back, back they came. Everyone flew in, they came in actually the airport was still closed, they didn't fly in at all. They came in by helicopter from Cyprus.

Q: Now Bartholomew was still the ambassador?

WINN: Yes, he had arrived just before I did, only a month before did.

Q: So, what happened?

WINN: As I say, we went over there to lotus land. It was funny because we could relax and we were going out to restaurants and we had our own apartments and I'm driving all over in my car and one day in October it was, we'd been there three weeks, maybe a month, waiting for our families to return. I was sitting in my office talking to a Dutch diplomat of all things and I stood up and looked out, (my office was in the back of the embassy) and I said, You know we don't worry about car bombs or anything here. What I worry about is someone on that ridge behind me just driving across with a 50-caliber machine gun on the back of a flatbed truck. At that point the embassy blew up. Where we were, both of us were standing, we had moved away from the window and we were standing between two windows that the blast went over the top of the building sweeping the workers off the top, killing them, and then into the back parking lot, flattening the cars in the back including mine and blowing in the back windows. It was the same thing that happened in Beirut, so I don't know how this works, but it does, there's a window on each side of us just blew in and across the room the frames hit and knocked us on the floor and I realized the building hadn't collapsed and we weren't hurt. So, the thing to do then was to go in and see what on earth had happened. It was clear it was a car bomb. Do you want a description of this?

Q: Sure.

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WINN: Well, I don't know, you could barely see because of the dust. Its so funny in the movies when these things blow up, they cannot recreate the fact that you can barely see from all the dust in the air. It doesn't do justice to the fact that you can barely see your hand in front of you. All the plaster dust, we went and sort of staggered into the front office and these flames and smoke billowing up outside the window, but there was the British ambassador who had been visiting Ambassador Bartholomew. He was standing in the middle of the room covered in blood which turned out to be mainly scalp wounds and a broken wrist pointing at a pile of rubble saying, Your ambassador is under there. For some reason Bartholomew had been seated, he had been seated on a couch, Don't know why and the wall behind him had physically caved in on him. He was buried. You couldn't even see him, so we started digging away at the rubble. The rubble like that cat, blinked and I remember seeing it was Bartholomew he was still under there still in a seated position. He blinked through the gray dust and we pulled him out. In the meantime, one of the Americans, the RSO, had blood spouting, assistant RSO, out of his arm. He'd cut an artery and he had this plume of blood and so somebody had to take care of him. The other RSO by the way had taken a blast in the face out in front. He wasn't killed, but his face was rearranged, but he is still in the Foreign Service, to his credit. Al Bigler. Years of plastic surgery. So, we got Bartholomew on his feet. Still he was totally dazed. He doesn't remember any of this and he was able to go down the steps bloody glass strewn steps. We were on the sixth floor with people supporting him. It was not like he was carried out, but he was able to emerge more or less on his feet and off to the hospital where he had suffered a lot of small lacerations, but was otherwise okay. He has a little scar here (on his face) to this day. So, then it was time to get out of there before the building collapsed. You know, we remembered Beirut and it was time to move on out of there. So, people were going out on foot and various, 19 people were killed after all, but those who weren't or weren't badly injured. Many people again with their clothes blown off. Again in movies they can do more of this what the real things look like. The clothes were blown off or you know the shirts blown off or something. Somehow that never comes through in explosions in the movies. Everyone is still fully clothed in the movies. But anyway, these things that

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strike you at the time and but for some reason I hung around on the sixth floor for a last look up there. I didn't think the building was going to collapse by then. After all an hour had passed and I heard a moan and under a pile of wood I found the DCM's secretary where she had been sitting in the front and luckily not by a window or she surely would have been killed. She had had her arm shattered and the bones of her arm and her hand. I remember it looked like a meal of frogs legs after you've had the frog legs. These little bones in her hand. She was lying under there. I thought what do I do now? She was able to walk though. I said, Im not going to be a hero and carry her and slip on this. I had a piece of wood and I made a primitive splint and used my tie so if she bumped her arm it would minimize the pain. She was small. I thought about [how] I could be Rambo and carry her, but if I slip on this glass and its very slippery, the blood... So I again supported her as we walked out. I later got a cable from her, Thanks to David Winn for carrying me out of the embassy. I thought, gee, I could go out to dinner on this, but I did not carry a woman out of the embassy. I supported her and I've often wondered how she is doing today. I cant even remember her name.

Then the British ambassador, one of his staff was still there, so I got in his car, the roof of which had been flattened. So, we drove to the British embassy looking through what looked like out of a tank turret. There was about two inches there where we could hunker down. I sent a cable to by that time everyone had been evacuated to Washington telling them what had happened. Then I came back to find the press milling with the DCM in West Beirut. I found myself in charge. So, I then faced the press and gave an account of what had happened and didn't take the bait, you know. Do you blame the ambassador, do you blame the State Department security for all this? I would not take the bait on all this. I said, No, no one could have foreseen this. Anyway that was replayed repeatedly in the States and the press was calling my aged mother in Dallas and by that time finally the DCM was able to make his way back and resumed charge.

Q: Who was the DCM?

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WINN: Lyne, Steve L-Y-N-E. You might want to interview him. Steven Lyne, long since retired, wonderful guy. He'd barely arrived, poor guy, but stayed long after I left. I'd like to give him my regards. Then we formed our own enclave - East Beirut. We're psychologically back to West Beirut, another enclave. Marines, the whole thing. We only had 19 killed as opposed to 63 in West Beirut because the building didn't collapse. By the way, you know the driver of the car was shot and killed in front of the embassy. He was aiming for the underground parking garage in which case the whole thing would have pancaked, but it didn't. They got him, some say our guards got him, some say the British guards got him. Guards at either end were killed by fire at each end shooting at the other. So, that's the end of that story. I remember the Lebanese army put APCs and guards around individual houses and then out went the dependents again. Out went the families virtually the next day. So, here we go a repeat of West Beirut, that was a downer. We did continue to live in our individual apartments with a Lebanese APC sitting out front. That's the scariest I ever was because I thought if someone really wants to kill me, they can come in the back door and kill me.

Q: They know where you are.

WINN: Yes, I was still in my free standing house. You see, the bad guys know where we were living, and we had only a Lebanese guard out front falling asleep. So, I got a pistol and I began sleeping in the guestroom. I would put blankets under the other bed to make it look like I was in my bedroom. I thought, God is this any way to live? But we did. We got used to it and I carried this pistol around of all crazy things. I would have killed myself if I had to use it. We still continued for a while to drive our own cars to work. I remember I had my car with the roof flattened from the bombing and I had it repaired and would continue to drive to work. But that didn't last long. Then the armored Suburbans would pick us up. That took forever to get to work, forever. We had to vary the route and it was pretty horrible.

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Q: Was activity picking up where you were? Was that explosiounique or was the war being...

WINN: Well, I take your point, I take your point, I think we had a few more car bombs that were farther afield in East Beirut. We really began to realize that it was just as dangerous there. You could even make the case, you had some Christian militias there mad at us, although, but we were mainly, we were mainly afraid of being kidnaped in East Beirut, murdered and kidnaped in East Beirut, which was formerly regarded as safe. The ambassador continued to live in his residence, which was far out of town. The residence was south of Beirut up in the mountains. It took him an hour and a half each way. His convoy was pretty horrible. He was looking for a new residence up there when all this happened and that didn't change.

Q: Who was responsible for the car bombing?

WINN: Well, I'm embarrassed to say we never have been quite sure to this day. We've never really sorted that one out. You know, a vague attribution to the Iranians, and to various crazy factions in the south. I don't think they've ever reached a conclusion. I'm appalled to say that's the case also with regard to West Beirut. There's Imad Maghnia who's still at large out of south Beirut often fingered as the guy who actually organized the bomb. Its amazing how little time goes into sorting out who did it when you're trying to survive, and then I kind of walked away from the bombing. Of course, Paris from '85 to '89 was just a constant obsession with Beirut

Q: Still now while you were in Beirut, were you keeping up youcontacts?

WINN: Yes, we would, but to get back into West Beirut was a major foray. Cross the green line and that was hair-raising enough. It was all well and good to be in your Chevy Suburban going across the green line, but you were still going into enemy territory.

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Q: Well, I mean how enemy was it, I mean?

WINN: Well, at that time the hostages were still captive, and we were all targets. It was a scary thing to go into West Beirut because anyone seeing you cross that green line into West Beirut knew you had to go back across the green line to East Beirut. They could wait for you there. There was an eerie no mans land in between. No one was ever snatched from the Embassy, however. It was dangerous enough that we just gave up on the annex, Ill say that.

Q: Well, I mean Im just wondering.

WINN: I mean we gave up keeping open an embassy in West Beirut.

Q: Were you finding, as sort of a professional, were you finding.

WINN: Well, if I could interrupt. More and more of our reportincame over the phone, phone conversations and the press in West Beirut.

Q: Because I was just wondering whether you know the calculation came, all right, I'll go talk to these guys. I'm getting almost, I wouldn't imagine you would be getting particularly different stories.

WINN: No, no. It was showing the flag and showing that we as Foreign Service officers could still get out. But, not one single conversation was ever worth risking your life for. However, we did.

Q: Im just, just looking at this sort of professionally, you knoyou play this game, you're showing the flag, who gives a damn?

WINN: No one did and finally we began to cut back on it.

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Q: You know, its so easy to get into this, well, we don't want tlet our side down, but nobody else is playing that game. I mean, they.

WINN: Well, to his credit, Ambassador Bartholomew I think gradually saw that this is ridiculous. In fact it got to the point that often, he wouldn't take a note taker with him when he went out. He said, This is a risk for one person, but not two. That sort of thing. But often I would insist on going with him, you know, don't let the side down. I had a bizarre episode once when we got to East Beirut, I was invited to spend the night up in the mountains at a hotel, a Christian hotel by the owner of the hotel. While I was up there in the evening sitting in the bar with the owner, one of the more radical Christian militias who had a vendetta against this guy came into the hotel and shot his brother dead practically in front of us. I mean they just snatched the guy from the table and took him off and executed him. We were sitting there having dinner and these Christian militia thugs came in. But they were a little discombobulated to see someone from the U.S. Embassy there and my host had always known these guys were out to get him and he disappeared knowing; he didn't desert me, he was running for his life. He had a hiding place in that hotel and there I was. I never feared for my life never remotely because these Christians are not insane. You know, its not like Osama, that's the last thing they want to do - kill an American diplomat. They pulled back when they saw someone from the embassy there and formed a cordon around the hotel as a standoff the rest of the night because they wanted this guy to emerge. They wanted him, but I just stayed there all night knowing they weren't going to harm me, but knowing they would come in and snatch him having executed his brother if I wasn't there, and the next morning I called Ambassador Bartholomew and I said, You know, we had an interesting night up here. Can you call the president of Lebanon, Amin Gemayel and through his contacts tell these guys to go home? Which he did and this hotel owner whose name escapes me, although he's now the director of tourism for Lebanon, I saw his name recently in the New York Times and he was understandably grateful. I dare say I saved his life. I think had they come in they would have found him. But I only

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passively saved his life just because I happened to be there and stayed there. Its like the movie Peter Sellers move, Being There, but I did nothing active.

Q: Being There, yes.

WINN: To go over to West Beirut was another kettle of fish.

Q: How about people from Washington coming?

WINN: Donald Rumsfeld came. In fact Rumsfeld visited in February because in those days he was the special negotiator for Lebanon and he was visiting Lebanon. We were up at the Residence, this was two or three weeks after I had arrived, and I remember Ambassador Bartholomew and I were standing there at the residence, which overlooks Beirut and South Beirut. We were looking down after the Lebanese army had shelled it at this smoking city when, there was always this crackle of small arms fire when the ground maybe 50 yards below us began leaping up. We realized someone was raking the residence with 50-caliber machine gun fire below us. We beat a quick retreat and then for some reason there were a lot of shells falling around the residence and I remember myself, Mrs. Bartholomew, Don Rumsfeld and all of us hunkering down in the kitchen pantry. The shells came in around but none hit the residence. In 1984 the marines were leaving, "redeployed offshore." We left Beirut with our tails between our legs, but there weren't many emissaries or visitors.

Q: Well, you know, there was this question of what the hell thmarines were doing there, even before the barracks were blown up.

WINN: I remember when I last heard the marines were going into Lebanon. I was vacationing in the south of France in 1982 and I turned on the radio and the BBC said the U.S. marines had gone into Beirut. I said, this is a Monty Python parody, this cant be. Why would we send U.S. marines into Beirut? I remember telling my wife, sitting there in the south of France. It was incredible that we ever got involved.

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Q: Well, while they were there were we raising questions about yoknow, lets get them out of here?

WINN: Phil Habib had said put them in there, and in they went. To just “save Lebanon,” and then it became quickly clear that we were sort of by default siding with the Christians in a civil war. It didn't take long before we realized we were just sitting ducks.

Q: But actually they were there for some time.

WINN: That's right. Im trying to recall. They would have gone in in the summer of 1983. It was after the marine barracks blowing and that was the motivating force for taking the marines in and then I can remember Bartholomew so they would have pulled out in early 84, mid 84 because they still hung in in West Beirut after the embassy left.

Q: Redeployed.

WINN: “Redeployed offshore” Bartholomew had to say this with a straight face, which is what ambassadors are paid to do. You might want to if you're ever in Rome, interview him. He loves to talk about Beirut, as I do. I have pleasant memories of working with the guy.

Q: I'd love to if I could.

WINN: Yes. He goes on Italian TV to talk about Beirut sometimes. Then it really got pretty grim after that. I had to leave because of my wive's health. They rewarded me with the NEA watcher in Paris. Its so funny. I could have used a reward for the tedium of Dakar. I didn't feel like I needed a reward for Beirut, it was always so exciting, but that's the way the Foreign Service works.

Q: Well, I think this is probably a good place to stop now as a cutoff point because its easier to pick it up. Lets put at the end, you went to Paris and you were the NEA watcher. We had an African watcher and a Far Eastern one.

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WINN: Sure. Best job in the Foreign Service.

Q: Yes. You were doing that from when to when?

WINN: The late spring of '85 to the summer of '89 when I went to Jerusalem.

Q: Okay, well we'll pick it up then.

WINN: Okay.

Q: Great.

Okay, today is March 27, 2002. David, you were off to Paris. You were there from '85 to '89. Could you explain what the job was and how the embassy was set up to use these what other area watchers were there?

WINN: My brief was, the countries and their representatives in the Middle East. All of NEA. We used to say it was from Marrakech to Bangladesh. So, the answer is the Arabs, the Israelis and the Iranians. So, I had the Arabs, the Israelis and the Iranians. Now as to your question, we had someone else who dealt with East and South Asia, and we had someone who dealt with Africa, and, incredibly in those days we had someone who dealt with Latin America. We had four regional representatives in the political section. Your point is well taken - how did the political section deal with us? All of whom were regarded as odd birds to say the least, but the political section was divided into an internal and an external part, and that's how they dealt with it. They had of course the political counselor, the deputy political counselor and then all of us gnomes running around this large internal political section and this four person external political section.

Q: Was there somebody who kind of had the French external brief, too?

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WINN: Yes, and that would have been the deputy political counselor. He supervised us. Although, he shared that with the political counselor. The joy of my job was that all of our areas were so arcane that as the area watchers, often we would deal with almost the highest levels of the Quai d'Orsay because our subjects were so obscure, whereas a comparable level officer in the internal section would have been relegated to lower dealings with the French government.

Q: Who was the, well, in the first place the ambassadors while you were there and then the political counselor and the deputy political counselor?

WINN: Sure, I'm embarrassed to say I cannot remember the name of the ambassador, who was a political appointee, a Tennessee real estate developer who was a very nice guy.

Q: *But they kind of come and go.*

WINN: They come and go and he was there indeed the same ambassador the entire time. For the life of me I cannot remember his name, the nicest guy in the world. The political counselor was Adrian Besora, whose long career in the Foreign Service ended up as ambassador to Slovakia I think. Then he was replaced by a guy named Phil Semler, S-E-M-L-E-R, who also had a long career. He went on I think finally as consul general in Milan. The deputy political, do you want these names literally?

Q: *Sure.*

WINN: The deputy was a fellow named David Engel and he was replaced by John Willett. John Willett to this day lives in Paris where he owns an apartment. David, whose wife is also an FSO, lives in Florence. Both retired.

Q: Well, in the first place I mean, when we move on, but before we go I would think that the Latin American watcher could spend most of his time sitting on a beach in Martinique or something like that?

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WINN: Well, they may have reordered these priorities. I don't think there is a Latin American watcher there anymore. I also had another brief, which was the IO watcher. To put it another way, I handled everything to do with the UN, which actually was a pretty heavy.

Q: I would think that would be quite a heavy job?

WINN: Anything to do with the UN fell to me and I always kind of wondered why. So, it kept me busy and a brief I might add that always was overlooked both in the Department and in the embassy. Although I did get very good EERs out of the job, it was always on the NEA side, but imagine any cable or any demarche to the French and any visitor dealing with the UN. That's a huge burden. Imagine how many UN visitors came through? That's incredible, not to say that, so I mean it was a busy time.

Q: Well, before we move on to the NEA portion,

WINN: Which is the most interesting.

Q: The most interesting, but lets talk a little about the UN brief. Im interested in this '85 to '89, our perception of the French role in the UN because so often in my interviews I find a certain amount of frustration with the French. Always feeling the French are trying to screw us in some way or another, just for, maliciously or something.

WINN: For the heck of it.

Q: I mean sticking it to the United States seems to be you know, seems to be the diplomatic sport in France. What was our attitude towards in this period the French role in the United Nations?

WINN: I confess I do not recall that it was particularly negative. We had a lot of cordial meetings. My job would be to trot over various small demarches and they were usually

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well received. I don't recall that there were any great problems. I can recall the IO assistant secretary, Vernon Walters, was always entertaining and he would come through and had rather cordial meetings. Because Vernon Walters was the assistant secretary for IO and because he was raised in France and spoke perfect French he always got what he wanted whenever he came through Paris. He was by this fellow who is on TV "making sense," Al Spheres, whatever his name is, a politician. I don't recall.

Q: Allen Keyes?

WINN: Allen Keyes, sorry. Allen Keyes. I just don't remember a particularly contentious time. The Middle East was different with the French, I always sum up the French this way. They somehow have the reputation for and publicly display the characteristics of being obstreperous, however, privately they always seem to come through. Im not saying they weren't also spying on us. I mean, we were aware, they were the oddest combination, but I have a warm spot for them because particularly in the Middle East, they generally always pretty much were helpful. That's just generally what I recall about the UN.

Q: All right, let's go to the Middle East. Let's focus particularlon Lebanon. What was going on?

WINN: Lebanon. Well, it was A) I'd just come from Lebanon and B) the big issue were the hostages and the fate of Lebanon. There was a presidential election. The Middle East per se was pretty quiet. I had the occasional peace process thing, but only toward the end of '88 and even in '89 did the Intifada in Jerusalem break out. So, the Arab Israeli problem was just a minor, only occasionally did I have to deal with that. The big topic was Lebanon and the fate of the hostages and whither Lebanon, so that was a constant topic and Iran of course. The Iranian role in Lebanon and what were the Shia up to. Now, all of these countries, the Lebanese practically occupied Paris, as they do to this day. Between the Lebanese journalists and the Lebanese politicians who all assumed that I had in the palm of my hand the fate of the next president of Lebanon, I mean Amin Gemayel was up

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for reelection. As I recall, he was reelected. So, I dealt intimately with all the candidates who would come through Paris and all take me to lunch. I also dealt with every crazy that came to the embassy, usually these crazies were walk-ins claiming to have information about the hostages. The Agency was happy to use me in that regard. I can even say this on tape they would love to trot me down and have me interview walk-ins, often in Arabic. So, that was fun. Actually it was fun, but it was so time consuming and I would meet guys under bridges and it was constant dealings with nuts, almost invariably nut cases. One of whom was Ollie North, I might add, who as often dispatched to Paris throwing his weight around and the embassy of course supine, I was instructed to do whatever Ollie wanted because it "came from the White House," as that situation persists today. It turned out he was completely nuts and was arranging this guns for hostages thing with Iran. It was all full of derring do and a lot of fun, but I was in the middle of it simply because I was the NEA type. And I knew all the players in Paris. But of course to the French while that was always important, they had issues in North Africa as well, Algeria and to some extent Tunisia and Morocco, and the Western Sahara and it was never every day was different. The Iranians, these Iranian exiles, one whom for God sake had been my boss in the Peace Corps in Tehran. So, you have these guys all over Iran claiming to control armies that would "go back and we'd take Iran." I tended to take them perhaps more seriously than I should have, but I was trying to show a conscientiousness in dealing with Iran as well. I cannot imagine a more feckless and obscure group of people and I think my successor Josiah Rosenblack cut most of them off, rightly so. I had a fond spot in my heart for Iran also because of my Peace Corps years, so.

Q: What did the French have hostages in the Lebanon?

WINN: Im trying to recall. They may have had one or two. The French take a rather harder line on this though. Its funny I didn't deal with the French per se on the hostages very much. Had they asked I would give the status of things, but so much of my time was spent just talking to everyone who came in and relaying that back to Washington. In that sense it was not a bilateral issue with the French. They had of course a great interest in Lebanon

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historically. Again, to some extent the peace process. We had a flood of visitors also. Can you imagine it? Everyone who had anything to do with the Middle East, Iran came through Paris and would go over to the Quai and that was fine with me. It always meant a reporting cable. I also dealt with the broader issue, just Islam and France. I wrote a massive cable on that toward the end of my stay and I remember much of the cable deals with what was then the obscure topic of Pakistani Islamic fundamentalism and the mosque they were setting up in Paris of course. It later emerged the 15 years, 10 years, 12 years later the crazies that blew up the Trade Center. At the time I thought, who are these people? Pakistani fundamentalists. So, I dealt with that and the journalists, of course, my bread and butter were the Arab journalists and the French journalists. Now not every FSO gets along with journalists. I always have. The French with many of them to this day. They really knew what they were doing.

Q: When you say they?

WINN: The journalists. They all had a line to spin, but they were smart guys. I'll tell you, the best Arabists of all the diplomats in Paris, not surprisingly, were the Israelis. I remember an Israeli diplomat. I dealt very intimately with an Arab journalist with whom I'm in touch today, who had such a line into the French foreign ministry it was quite astonishing. He would tell me things. He regularly took me to lunch and would tell me things that were scooping the Agency. I was pretty open with him in return. I was always pretty careful. I would feed him this party line, but I was pretty open with the guy. I remember an Israeli diplomat (and of course, this Arab published only in Arabic) who said, I detect your hand in this guys articles. He was right. Now, here's an Israeli reading Arabic. Now most of us could barely parse out the text, but I was really struck by this Israeli guy, his capacity in correctly detecting my hand in this Arab journalists reporting. The stuff the Arab gave me was a good example of how the French got along with the Arab journalists.

Q: Well, did you feel from that perspective at that particular time that the French were...

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WINN: They were trying to play catch up. They were just running around, following us trying to see what in the hell we were up to everywhere. They were trying to and they always have been trying to carve out their own role. So, they couldn't have been more responsive to every request for an appointment. I could literally see at a moments notice the equivalent of the deputy secretary. I didn't abuse that privilege and I never saw him alone. I guess the highest guy I saw on my own would have been the equivalent for the undersecretary for political affairs. They were so interested in what we were up to.

Q: Did you feel that you could, I mean, was what we were up to pretty straight forward?

WINN: Yes, I was very open. I tried to be open because we were such at, we were floundering in Lebanon. We never had anything going on behind the scenes, not as much as the French thought we did and certainly not as much as the Lebanese thought we did. All the presidential candidates would take me to lavish lunches assuming that somehow I would dictate to the Lebanese parliament. I think the French always gave us more credit than we deserved. They didn't buy the line that we were running things in Lebanon quite to the extent the Lebanese did. They were correct though in assuming that when we would launch this or that Israeli Palestinian plan, they wanted to know whatever detail was. Richard Murphy the then Assistant Secretary, often came through Paris. They were very cordial to him. We had a separate guy that did terrorism, Steve Kashkett, now of all things our consul general in Newfoundland.

Q: *The Centers of Terrorism?*

WINN: At the time he was in the Agency, a fact that is well known. He said, Im tired of this. I want to take the Foreign Service test. Sat down and took it and became a Foreign Service officer and he was one of the best officers I've ever worked with. He had the terrorism brief, but Steve and I worked hand in glove on this terrorist thing for obvious reasons. We altered the trial of a French, actually Lebanese, a French Lebanese guy who had shot our defense attache in Strasbourg some years before. His name escapes me

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at the moment. It was a big trial and Steve and I were the embassy watchers at the trial of this guy. I remember the political counselor saying, We need people to go down there and be witnesses at this trial. I remember one of my colleagues saying, Im not going to do it. Im a married man. As if Steve and I weren't, but anyway, it was logical that Steve and I would do it anyway. But, then we had French body guards after that. Immediately after the trial, the Department said, "Your lives are in danger because the guy was found guilty and we will send you to anywhere in the world that you want to go for a couple of week as long as it's London or Brussels." So, we chose London and spent two weeks in London hanging out and then came back to find to the dismay of my landlady French plain clothes detectives shadowing us for a few weeks until we all decided this is ridiculous. End of story.

Q: Well now, how did you feel on the Arab-Israeli thing at the time you were there? Did the French come down more on the sort of Arab side or were they having the same?

WINN: They pretty much took our lead - knew we were in the drivers seat. The Intifada didn't break out until about '88 or '89 so at the time it was sort of a placid holding pattern. We were worried about the extent these settlements expanding, but things were quiet, so it wasn't as if there was any great sense of urgency there. The urgency came later. As I recall, that was quite a minor part of my brief. Its hard to realize that, but only occasionally did I deal with the French on the peace process. I think the French were willing to go along with whatever the Palestinians would buy. At the time we had various plans worked out and it was mainly pressure on the settlements issue and of course by the time the Bush administration got in there he really did lean hard. You know, we didn't have any great contentious issues with the French on it. They were just trying to get the ins and outs of what we were really up to there.

Q: *Did we have any, were we still under the instructions not to havcontact with the PLO?*

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WINN: Yes, we sure were and that's quite amusing. We would dance around town and I would go to various and endless seminars held by French think tanks. A PLO representative would be there and you know, we would sort of nod to each other, but I never, I never exchanged a word with him, nor did he embarrass me. So, I had no, I had contact with very few Palestinians in Paris, certainly not with the PLO representative and the French did. But, I don't know, that shows you again what an unreal air about the whole situation.

Q: Well, would you find yourself talking to the French saying okay you're talking to the Palestinians, what are they saying so I can go back home?

WINN: Not that often because of the Consulate General in Jerusalem. They had so many ties with the Palestinians one way or another, as did the Embassy in Tunis.

Q: *It was about that time I think.*

WINN: Was permitted to talk to them. So, it wasn't a great hindrance. We knew well enough what their position was. Particularly, Bob Pelletreau was there talking to them in Tunis. The last thing I wanted to do is get in his way.

Q: *But you're saying at that time this?*

WINN: It was a minor part of my brief.

Q: *The French didn't have any major policy differences with us osomething, they were kind of watching?*

WINN: That's right. No major policy differences, no. It was such a rush. Each day would be incredibly busy. I remember going over to talk to an Iranian exile, whose name escapes me, at his home in a Paris suburb heavily guarded by French police. Soon after I, it was a household word at the time, soon after I left Paris. Someone else posing as a diplomat or

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journalist got in there and cut his throat. I've forgotten his name, but there were no great contentious issues with the French in my view. Again, behind the scenes they were always quite cooperative.

Q: How about with Lebanon, I mean the French of course, had been the colonial power in Lebanon and Syria. How did they view the Syrian connection in Lebanon?

WINN: They of course like us wish the Syrians would leave, but realize that they were there for the long haul. We had a grim acceptance of the Syrian role there and until the domestic situation between the Lebanese parties and the Palestinians resolved itself. I don't recall us differing greatly particularly with this hostage situation. In many ways we were happy to have the Syrians lurking around, trying to figure out where these people were. So, the Syrians in some ways were helpful, on the other of course, they were the conduit through which Hezbollah received arms through Damascus. So, I don't recall us differing greatly. We realized there wasn't a lot we could do about it, let's put it that way.

Q: How about the Maronites? The Lebanese Maronites? They certainly worked hard to tie up American representatives. We talked about before socially, politically and everything.

WINN: I had one in my living room 48 hours ago who still remembers me from '89, or whenever it was, '85 was the last time I saw the guy. Well, of course, they had the president of the republic Amin Gemayel, who was a Maronite and they always are the figures what stand out the most strongly when I recall our dealings with Lebanon and they were certainly active all over Paris, where most of them lived for God sake.

Q: *In many ways they were more attuned to the French, weren't they?*

WINN: Yes, they were and they all spoke French. Gemayel spoke only broken English for example, but perfect French. Always were more attuned to the French, but they knew where the power lay and they certainly were on our case all the time. I was taken to lunch by more Maronites than any other group of people in Paris and particularly during

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the tempest in a tea pot over the presidential election. I cant even remember who the candidates were at the time although I'd just received greetings from him two days ago from this guy who was just here. He said, so and so says hello. I could barely place these people. They were candidates for the presidency of Lebanon. It was always great fun. The Maronites though were still running the show then. Their day was over and it was only long after I left that a conference in Saudi Arabia rearranged the representation. We had as I say tempest in a teapots. Prime Minister Karami was assassinated. The helicopter blew up. All of these names long forgotten by us, but it was a big deal at the time.

Q: How about with Iran? What?

WINN: Well, again, sort of a holding pattern with the various exile groups. General this and former General that, assuring me that they had armies in waiting, but never really even asking for support, just wanting to maintain contact, let me put it that way. They were always calling me up and saying, "Lets just get together to chat," but never asking for any specific support and never saying they were going to make a specific move. They wanted to keep their names in the American hat in case we ever decided to approach them for some proposal. Maybe the Agency was up to something, I don't think so. So, that was an odd sort of dance I conducted.

Q: You didn't get involved in the what was it the Iran gate business?

WINN: Well, I did only to the extent that Ollie North every once in a while or one of his employees would say meet me in such and such a restaurant or I would be instructed, more specifically to meet some obscure Iranian in an obscure restaurant. The Iranian would simply give me a message to transmit back to Washington, a message which meant nothing to me. I was simply the conduit for these scum bags both North and the Iranians. So, no I never knew what was going on. I remember the first guy who told me what was going on was an American journalist in Paris named Ken Timmerman, who, I just saw on TV, published a book on Jesse Jackson. At the time he wrote a little two-page out of

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news letter his apartment on the Middle East. He called me up one day and told me all about this guns for hostages thing going on in Iran. I don't know how he found out, but I have to give him credit to this day he was the first one to find out. Then I put two and two together. I remember our then NEA watcher in London, Robin Rafael, later went on to be Assistant Secretary for South Asia and ambassador to Tunisia. She also called me up. She said, David, I think were dealing with the Iranians over these hostages. Yes, I found out everything about Iran Contra from journalists and Robin. I never knew what was going on when I was delivering and receiving messages. So, I it was only much later that it came out in the wash. I was called to London at one point, but that had to do with the release of a hostage, Charles Glass, that was a separate issue. God, they all meld together in my mind.

Q: Well, now did the a good part of the time you were there, thIran Iraq War was going on?

WINN: Yes, oh thanks for reminding me.

Q: A little minor matter.

WINN: Yes, a little minor matter and I would try to pick up what reporting I could on that, which is very little. Baghdad had a singularly amiable Iraqi ambassador there who had spent so much time in Cincinnati, Ohio, he spoke unaccented American English and a very nice guy and I remember we had representation in Iraq at the time, Bill Peck and Bob Eagleton.

Q: Well, we were sort of on the Iraqi side?

WINN: We were on the Iraqi side, so I had cordial relations with the Iraqi embassy. I picked up a little reporting. Half the time those guys the Iraqi diplomats in Paris didn't really know what was going on.

Q: How were the French? Did the French have any dog in the Iralraqi fight?

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WINN: I don't recall that they did. I guess they sort of would come down on, like on our side, they kind of hoped the Iraqis would, I mean be a little more friendly to the Iraqis. I just don't recall that it occupied a lot of my time.

Q: How about Iraq at that time? The war was going on, but also Saddam Hussein was beginning to pick up weapons and this sort of thing, including an embryonic nuclear program and all? How did the French often are more commercially minded on this. Did you find we were at odds?

WINN: That's true, that's true. I have to give you credit for nudging my memory and knowing your brief. I did do the occasional demarche objecting to various commercial transactions between the French and the Iraqis that probably persists to this day. I do dimly recall going in to sternly lecture them. I remember the Iraqi desk officer looking up and said, Oh, you're here again to spank froggy's bottom. A line I put in a cable, which I was later told, made it all the way to the Secretary, that's true, absolutely right. I remember going over there from time to time, but the most information I got on the Iran War and French dealings with them, came again from this journalist, Ken Timmerman who taught me a lesson. No matter how weird and off the wall and how much of a one-man operation seems to be, this guy had a line into something, be it Iraqis, the French and everyone. I learned a lot from his newsletter and I also learned from his newsletter a lot of the stuff he printed was completely off the wall. So, you had to be able to pick and choose. Its funny, I point this out only to say its too bad so many FSOs are afraid of journalists, because you can learn so much from them depending on where you are, and certainly in Paris you can. Its true, maybe at another post, where after all we are the center of attention, you cant learn as much, they can learn more from you.

Q: But, I mean, were we seeing Iraq, particularly Saddam Hussein as being a potential problem?

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WINN: I don't, it doesn't seem to have loomed large on the horizon. If it did, it went by me. I think as I fling my mind back, as I say this, the whole thing was overshadowed by the Iran Iraq War and I don't recall warnings coming from anywhere I have to confess. Who was out there, Bill Eagleton and Ed Peck?

Q: I cant remember, maybe you remember when the Israelis found thlraqi nuclear?

WINN: I was in Washington at the time, so that would have been way back during the period I was in Washington, which was '77 to '81. By the way, Barbara Bodine who was then the number two in Baghdad at that time, is now out in California. I noticed she is speaking to the University of Delaware tomorrow if you ever want to, I mean the World Affairs Council in Wilmington, Delaware.

Q: She's not retired yet?

WINN: No, she's a Diplomat in Residence out at the University oCalifornia, Santa Barbara. You really should get her and sit her down.

Q: I'd like to, I'll sort of wait till she is retired.

WINN: Hard to catch. Exactly, of course.

Q: Did?

WINN: Well, lets see, where were we? Oh, well the hostages as I say one of whom was released then, Charles Glass, a journalist who later was accused of fabricating his escape. He claims that he had been kidnaped and held and then fashioned a key and undid the rusted lock of his room. I know a lot of people to this day insist that he made the whole thing up for the brief publicity it afforded him. But when he did escape, I was sent to London to be part of the team that debriefed him, mainly Agency people. In fact I was the only State Department person there. He certainly convinced me and he convinced the

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team that it was a legitimate escape. Charlie is still an active journalist for CNN and some other outfits. It was an exciting job, literally each day ranging from counter terrorism and their trials.

Q: Did you get any, you say you did something on Islam at that time in France. I watch the French news fairly frequently because we can get it in Fairfax County and obviously there is a very large Islamic community there. Its getting bigger all the time, both Islamic and American, and African community. How did you see the Islamic community in France? I mean what were we looking at?

WINN: I looked at them through the eyes of the French. We regarded them as to some extent an alien and mildly hostile entity that needed to be closely monitored by the security services. The French have always looked on them that way. The French have always been pretty tough, you know, Muslim women are not allowed to wear scarves in French schools. They don't kowtow to political correctness. I kind of admire the French for that. They can assimilate with a foreign culture and allow another culture to live in France, but they always sort of lay down the rules. Whereas we get so confused with our political correctness and falling all over backwards to tolerate for example, Muslims schools here in Virginia that are just teaching hate. The French were very clear that they monitored what was going on in the mosques. The Muslims, the French Muslims, didn't really want to talk to me either. They regard me with justifiable suspicion. I say justifiable, since they put me in the same group with the French. So, it was kind of hard to get a line on them. I mainly rely on a lot of French journalists who had been following the Muslim community for years. So, they started to use a horrible phrase from my youth, you keep them in their place because they're such an enormous community. But the French don't fool around.

Q: How about particularly Algeria and Morocco?

WINN: There were some terrorists incidents in France when I was there that if they happened here, the entire country would close down. The French of course absorb these

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bomb attacks. You will recall the bomb attacks in Paris and Europe that were so horrific that Americans wouldn't travel to Europe for a couple of years. The French, however, absorb these and go on. To us its a national catastrophe and Im not talking about the Trade Center. Its just that they're more used to bomb attacks, which was a national catastrophe, but the Europeans seem to take these in stride more than Americans. The enormous Algerian community, there was something they really kept a close eye on.

Q: Did you feel that they were moving towards assimilation?

WINN: In many ways, they have assimilated. The North Africans all speak perfect French. They all go to French schools. They all, however, live in suburban, industrial suburbs. So assimilated, no I mean yes and no. They all became part of the French community and pick up French ways and language in many ways more than foreigners do here because the French insist on it more than we do here. They still harbor these resentments, but I don't think a lot of them want to go back to Algeria. They could if they wanted to. Its an odd love-hate relationship the French have, but since they do lay down the law, they lay down the rules, you can assimilate, but you can be French, but in a way you're always going to be foreign and we're going to keep an eye on you and you will play by the rules. Particularly this business of no headscarves. I don't know what the rules are in American schools here.

Q: They allow them.

WINN: They allow them, so. Assimilate, yes, they assimilate under the rules. They're going to be second class citizens, lets put it that way. The French say, you can take it or leave it.

Q: Well, now you left in '89? How was?

WINN: A big mistake in my next post, by the way, but go ahead.

Q: How was the Intifada?

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WINN: Well, the Intifada had geared up pretty heavily by the time I got to Jerusalem. As I say, that was the only post in the Foreign Service I bitterly regret, for internal professional reasons. The situation on the ground had become bad of Deputy Principal Officer in Jerusalem - much too bad to take a sick spouse to (her MS had gotten much worse). I was long since used to bombs and rocks and whatever, but it developed so quickly, that from being the most heavily bid post in the Foreign Service - 82 souls bid for the job when I got it, "more than for the Court of St. James," as one diplomat put it Now you cant force people to go to Jerusalem. Virtually no one bid on my job when I left. So, it had become quite a source of concern although nothing like it is now. There were not any suicide bombers then. It was the risk of being brained by rocks every time you got on the road in Arab East Jerusalem, not in West Jerusalem. There were no problems in Israeli Jewish West Jerusalem, by the way where half of our staff lived, but my wife and I lived far out in East Jerusalem, where young Palestinians would throw rocks at my wife.

Q: Why was Jerusalem considered such a good job?

WINN: Oh, for years and years and years, you were in the thick of things, you were at the center of the Arab Israeli problem, it was a very nice city, it was then, but not now. Your reporting always got read in Washington. Its funny how that deputy's job over the years was regarded as a plum. We had a very nice house up in the hills overlooking Jerusalem and East Jerusalem, a beautiful house which had become a slum by the time I got there and was given up when I left. People were living the past, you know the Mandelbaum gate and all that. Everyone in that job looked back at the old British mandate in a way. The '67 War had been just one huge adventure, as indeed were the events of 48. The Consulate was a historic building. Its been there for 100 years. The fact that the job seemed to destroy everyone who served there, their careers were sort of quietly ended with a few exceptions, was overlooked. Everyone was living in the past.

Q: Well, you were there from '89 to?

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WINN: '89 to '92.

Q: Who was Consul General?

WINN: When I arrived and for the first two years, a fellow by the name of Phil Wilcox, whom I had never met. He chose me sight unseen from among the candidates. The last of the three years there was Molly Williamson. She is still in the Foreign Service. Phil has retired.

Q: I've interviewed Phil. When you got there, were you seeing Jerusalem with fresher eyes than the people around you do you think?

WINN: Not the people immediately around me because they had been in the thick of it, to their credit. I was shocked when I got there, shocked by the contrast between Jerusalem I imagined and had recalled from Amman, and the Jerusalem, that I found. I recall from Amman in the '70s that there and there was scarcely a distinction between West and East Jerusalem. Israelis on both sides, Palestinians on both sides. I got there in '89 to find a war zone, no Israelis in the East, but the attitudes had changed so gradually over the years that what I found didn't shock everyone else. Everyone else was living in a state of siege that they had taken for granted for sometime and that was more startling to me. I did not expect to find a place where no Israeli socialized with a Palestinian, where you could not have a dinner in your house and mix Israelis and Palestinians. It was incredible, because you could do that back in the '70s. I didn't expect to find a city so strictly divided that no Israeli would set forth in Arab East Jerusalem and regard us as either insane or traitorous for living over there.

Q: Well, what had caused this?

WINN: The Intifada, the stonings. At that time, just stonings would occasionally kill people. I mean our cars, the minute I got there, you know, we had to have Mylar tape reinforcement put in the windows because if you were hit in the head by a big rock it

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would kill you. The Israelis went around with pistols. For all I know they do to this day. Its so startling to see grown men walking around wearing holsters, I mean it was all so primitive, particularly when they would make the occasional foray for business reasons over into East Jerusalem. I would sit on my porch and look at the main road from Jericho to Jerusalem and watch these kids. In those days we didn't have video cameras and I wish we did. I could see the kids down below the road, get their rocks, I would see them spot a car and I would see them stone it and I would see the driver get out with a pistol and start shooting at them. I wish to heck I had video cameras, they hadn't been invented when I was there. Then I of course, we ourselves were incessantly stoned. They would just see a foreigner and just throw rocks at them. My car was burned up. It was burned in front of the house. So, it was such a strain, given my wife's inability to walk by them

Q: Oh boy. Well, what about how did you find relations between the consulate and the Palestinians?

WINN: Well, our brief there in many ways was to deal with the Palestinians, whereas the embassy in Tel Aviv was supposed to deal with the Israelis. Now, of course, that's very glib and superficial, but of course in Jerusalem we deal with the Israelis, and Phil did a very good job of maintaining contacts on both sides. The only Israeli officials we were permitted to deal with were at Jerusalem City Hall. We didn't go to the Foreign Ministry. We had the absurd spectacle of the Embassy personnel driving an hour up the hill to go to the Foreign Ministry, which was across the street from us. Phil had a wide range of non-governmental Israeli contacts. I had a very few. The Israelis couldn't stand the sight of us, not to put too fine a point on it. They resented our presence in Jerusalem, as did the Israeli man on the street. The minute they found where I lived, that was pretty much the end of any contact with any Israelis, with the exception of a few fringe peace groups. The fact that we lived in the Israeli East Jerusalem was a subject of intense dislike, intense anger even. I remember even before, in Paris, the Israeli embassy diplomats I dealt with were furious that we still lived in, we had a presence in East Jerusalem. So, it was as contentious relationship with the Israelis. So with the exception of the Consul General, we

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dealt about exclusively with Palestinians. Remember that half or more than half of our staff was in East Jerusalem. The American staff below me. I remember being a little envious of the fact that most of them lived in safe West Jerusalem. We all got a hardship post, we all got a hardship differential in Jerusalem. But I was one of only three or four people in East Jerusalem getting brained by rocks. That's the way it goes and I gather we've all now pretty well left East Jerusalem.

Q: How about the contacts with the Palestinians?

WINN: Well, they were more than happy to see us at every level. That was our bread and butter, the usual list of cast of characters, all of whom are still pretty much active today. I mean Saeb Erekat - I almost rented a house from him down in Jericho. We used to see him all the time. They were happy to see us on the one hand and on the other hand, it was a litany of misery and complaining. The conversation was pretty much all the same as it has been for 30 or 40 years. So, it was kind of a boring job, frankly. The same damn thing over and over. Discouraging.

Q: How did you find relations with the embassy at that time?

WINN: Oh, its always been kind of an odd strained relationship. "You're the Arab lovers up the hill." I would go down once a week to attend their staff meetings, that would take all morning, after all it was an hour drive down, an hour drive up, the meeting itself. Remember, few people recall that Jerusalem is an independent post. We do our own reporting. People always assume we have to have our reporting approved by the embassy, that's not true. We'd send stuff directly in from Jerusalem. So, it didn't always track with what the embassy wanted to hear. Often its a function of the personalities, the Consul General and the ambassador and you know, Phil was his own man, as have all the consuls general there been. I think he worked out a pretty good *modus vivendi* with the embassy. In later years Ambassadors and Consul Generals scarcely spoke to each other. I wont name names, but rather recently there have been tales of shouting matches and

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epithets flung between the Consul General and the ambassador in more recent years. He worked out a good *modus vivendi*, a mutual respect.

Q: Who was the ambassador when you were there?

WINN: Totally forgotten. I met him twice in the three years I was there. The DCM with whom I dealt was Mark Parris, who later became assistant secretary of NEA and ambassador to Turkey and has since moved on to the private sector.

Q: How were we viewing Intifada? Did we see this as a futile effort?

WINN: Well, toward the end of my stay by the way we had the Madrid Peace Conference, but we saw it as, certainly an irritant. Another irritant and a major element of our reporting were the Israeli settlements. Steve Kashkett, whom had been the terrorism guy in Paris, whom I was instrumental in bringing to Jerusalem, was our settlements guy. They of course have expanded exponentially since then. To his credit, Phil Wilcox, we didn't have a very close relationship, but I've got to give him credit, was constantly on top of the settlement and human rights issues. Phil should have been a lawyer. I've got to hand it to him. He wrote detailed and damning cables pointing out human rights and legal abuses of the Israelis' expansion into East Jerusalem. There was a constant keeping an eye on Israeli encroachments on the West Bank. Now, that didn't answer your question. Weekly we would get the latest Palestinian communique of the Intifada resistance, which eventually I think numbered into the hundreds. We had a wonderful political officer there, Marc Foulon, who has since left the Foreign Service in frustration, actually writing speeches for Richard Haas now and he would translate these things every week. I gather to some extent we succeeded in focusing Washington's attention. George Bush finally tied down some of the financial aid, on condition that it could not be used in the settlements. As the months wore on, I found it increasingly irritating to drive to work; I risked my wife and I getting killed by these stupid kids with rocks. I often would pull over to lecture them in Arabic. I would say, "Listen you miserable little sons of bitches, don't you realize who I am?"

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I'm half on your side!" It's so funny, that you could sit there and have a cup of coffee with them. In other words it wasn't personal with the guys who burned my car up. You know, I never feared them for my, never one for my bodily danger as an individual in Jerusalem. One could be a random target, but assassination was not a factor. Although we had no guards, I lived openly. It was always a political thing, these kids throwing rocks at the car because they saw a foreigner and thought it was great fun.

Q: Did you fly the flag?

WINN: Well, that might have almost been a provocation. In any case, we had diplomatic plates. Again in my house, I lived in the thick of it. I repeat, my car was burned up in front of the house, torched in front of the house, but I never once worried about my physical safety as an individual. Oddest situation.

Q: Well, what about monitoring what was going on in the West Bank?

WINN: We would drive around talking to the Palestinians all over the place. We encountered endless Israeli checkpoints as we monitored the settlements physically. That was more Steve's job, but I did my fair share of it. We were met with hostility of course by the settlers. Often the Israeli guards of these individual settlements wouldn't allow us in the settlement, and often they would and we would physically monitor - this house, this wall has been extended. We'd go around and just eyeball everything constantly, particularly Steve. He wrote some wonderful cables counting houses and settlements.

Q: Was there supposedly a stop on the enlargement of the settlements?

WINN: There were so many claims by the Israelis. They would say, we aren't building, just "natural expansion." There was at one point a freeze on new settlements, but they never to this day claimed to put a freeze on this enlargement of existing settlements even if the enlargement was on the next mountaintop. So, they would always get around the restrictions. As I recall there was finally a freeze on settlement building, on new

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settlements, but never on the expansion of existing ones. Now its quite shocking to see how enormous these settlements are. My God, there's one, Ma'ale Abumim, just basically a huge suburb of Jerusalem, halfway down to the Dead Sea by now. These settlements are enormous suburbs, the size of Reston. Some of them are just a few trailers on a hill, but some of them are huge, huge complexes. Most people don't realize that.

Q: How about American Jews who were also Israelis? Did you havmuch to do with them?

WINN: Again, to them, to all Israelis, the consulate was pretty much the enemy. It was bizarre how we in the consulate would cling to American policy in order to maintain a hard line, and in other ways conveniently avoid touching on other aspects of American policy - such as the fact that to this day, the USA does not acknowledge Israeli sovereignty over Jerusalem - a fact we were never permitted to mention despite the fact that in the lobby of the consulate, for all I know to this day, there is the old original plaque that says, "The American Consulate General In Palestine." Now that is a provocation to any Israeli who came in. Our international mailing address was always American Consulate General Jerusalem - we would never put Jerusalem, Israel. That's why I say our pathetic little attempt to hold the course but of course we didn't use the international main anyway so because we didn't acknowledge Israeli sovereignty. We were the enemy to the Israelis.

Q: What was your impression of how the Israelis on the West Bank?

WINN: The Americans particularly the American Israelis that we were really traitors, but they couldn't stand us. Every once in a while the settlers committee on the West Bank, most of them were American Jews, Americans, would come in and talk to Phil. They'd put on a suit and tie. I was always struck by that. The Israelis never put on a suit. They would show appropriate respect and come in and have a meeting with Phil and he would hear them out. It was a contentious relationship.

Q: Were we reporting on human rights violations and that sort othing?

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WINN: Oh, boy were we. The annual human rights report was the major event of the year of the Consulate General. Again, that job was like being nibbled at by swarming bees, it was anything but fun. There was not a fun moment. The human rights reports was certainly one of the most agonizing exercises where traditionally, the Consulate General would send in a tough draft and it would be whittled back both by the embassy and by Washington. We would reach agonizing compromises, and I always thought we did a heroic job. I haven't read it in 15 years. I just walked away from that place. Remember my wife died there, so I just walked away. One of our major products was the human rights report in which I thought we acquitted ourselves well.

Q: How did you get your information?

WINN: From Israeli human rights groups, who were vigilant, and Palestinian human rights groups, the Palestinian al-Haq was the Palestinian group that did a very good job. Betsellem was Israeli equivalent. And from our own monitoring and endless talking. It was just a lot of hard, scut work, hard research, going out and talking to people, interviewing people, comparing the notes, comparing notes of the Israeli groups and the Palestinian groups. It was hard research and my hats off to our political officers and the rest of the Consulate staff, including our overworked Consular section. I did, too.

Q: How about did we get involved in trying to protect Palestinian-Americans who were over there?

WINN: Yes, but we worked on behalf of Palestinian non-Americans, in the sense of reporting on Israeli incursions, when they would just plant a settlement in the middle of nowhere. The Israelis would buy up property in East Jerusalem or occupy property in East Jerusalem. I would go, often I'd find myself in East Jerusalem physically eyeballing the settlers with their guns who would then eyeball me. I mean, not threateningly, but they just didn't like to see us and encroachments when the Israelis would go in and just occupy

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houses in East Jerusalem, just occupy houses that allegedly had been Jewish in biblical times. Many settlements, I've forgotten your question by the way.

Q: Did we get involved with?

WINN: Oh, American Palestinians. Not that often. We would occasionally, yes, when one was arrested. Anne Barry, not to be confused with the consul general, the woman who was chief of our consular section, was very active. Any time a Palestinian-American was detained she would be over there at the prison and trial. Anne Barry, I think she's still in the Foreign Service, we were witnesses at the occasional trial. Yes, we were quite vigilant. Endless, some of these cases went on and on and on. My stepbrother was recently on a bus in Santa Fe, New Mexico and he fell into conversation with the driver of his bus who turned out to be a Palestinian. My brother-in-law said, "Do you know a fellow named David Winn?" He said, "Yes, David Winn saved my house from demolition." I don't remember this incident. That was another thing, we were often involved when the Israelis would threaten to blow up a house and we would occasionally, apparently, I don't recall this guy recalled me personally succeeding in preventing his house from being blown up. I take that story with a grain of salt, just an example of our high profile out there.

Q: What was your impression of how the Israelis were treating thPalestinians?

WINN: Constant humiliation just inside the law. The Palestinians were used to humiliation, with good reason. The Israeli soldiers at checkpoints, would never miss a chance to harass. They would make life difficult for the Palestinians. They would seize on small violations of a property deed or of a building permit to destroy the house. The point was to constantly keep the Palestinians off balance. To constantly remind them they were there at the sufferance of the Israelis. Frankly, the goal was to get them to leave, particularly from East Jerusalem. So, these are small things to the West, but its day to day, day in and day out. Remember this was at a time when there were no bombings in East Jerusalem. Its not like they were a problem to the Israelis, but the goal was basically to humiliate the

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Palestinians and to make life just miserable enough that they could expand the Israeli presence on the West Bank, let me put it that way. You had the Intifada, which basically was an irritant to any Israeli, who went over to East Jerusalem, but it was not a problem for the Israelis West Jerusalem. It was clear, a constant pressure, lets put it that way.

Q: How about with the other officers, particularly the junior officers there? You know if you have a time of tension like this and things going on, sometimes its hard to keep almost control of the officers because if they see injustices and all they over identify and all this. Was this a problem?

WINN: I take your point. I have to say that the experience of having your car torched - which several officers had - and having rocks thrown at you mitigated to some extent the indignation of seeing Israeli abuses. Over identifying was strangely enough never a problem because the Palestinians, we got so sick and tired of having rocks thrown at us and our cars blown up and torched, it just irritated the hell out of us. "Can't you people see where your bread is buttered? Stop trashing us!" So "clientitis" was not a problem. It might have been when life was more comfortable on the Palestinian side, but not when we were there.

Q: *So, it was sort of a plague on both your houses?*

WINN: Plague on both your houses. We were all ready to leave.

Q: *What about the Gulf War and its, you left there when?*

WINN: Oh, in '91, I mean the Gulf War came and went.

Q: *Tell me about how.*

WINN: Well, we were first of all irritated that Arafat came out and declared on the side of the Iraqis. He thought that was great. So did King Hussein as I recall. I'm trying to get back the chronology of this. We had Jim Baker coming and going. Back in January, '91, I heard on the BBC at the crack of dawn that the Iraqis had invaded Kuwait. I got to the

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consulate to find on my desk an all points NIACT from the ambassador in Kuwait, Ned Howell, in which he said, We've seen these press reports that the Iraqis have invaded Kuwait. Its a ridiculous rumor. Now, I cite that as an example that the embassy was taken utterly by surprise and in defense of April Glaspie. People really didn't see this coming, for all they may say so after the fact. In Jerusalem, it finally got to the point that the hostility in the East became such that we were told to move all our valuables into the embassy, just before the war broke out, so I did take all the clothes to the Consulate because we might have to pull out of East Jerusalem. (My wife was visiting her family in Paris at the time.) Then as tensions began to mount I remember Baker, Secretary of State, had his last meeting with the Iraqis, it broke down. Then, those of us living in the East physically left our houses and apartments in the East and moved into a hotel in East Jerusalem and within 24 hours we had launched Operation Desert Storm. We were woken up in the middle of the night by phone calls and said from the communicator. He said, We have just launched Operation Desert Storm. That reminds me of a colleague in Yemen when he was down in '74. We had a consulate general in Taiz, Yemen. He was woken up in the middle of the night and told that Richard Nixon had just put the U.S. on Nuclear Alert Five. He said, I didn't know what to do but to pull the blinds. That's the way I felt, so I just went back to sleep, but within an hour the Israeli air raid sirens began going off. We had been issued gas masks. We all had our gas masks and we were all hurriedly hustled into various rooms of the hotel, where there were taped rooms with all the other hotel guests which included a large group of American Hasidic Jewish young men, teenagers. So there we all were. I had my radio and to my incredulity I was listening to the communicator talking to the DCM down there saying "We're getting SCUD missiles down in Tel Aviv, hitting Tel Aviv. This was all incredible. At that point the news began to spread around Jerusalem. The Hasidic young men crowded into the bathroom to shave off their beards, because they could not get a close fit on the gas masks otherwise, and they turned on the TV. Were all in this small room taped up and the only thing on Israeli TV was a rock and roll band, which they left on to get the news. Now this quickly became intolerable. This I mean the Israeli rock and roll music. So, I said, I have to go to the consulate. I've got to get out of

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here. The Israeli soldier wouldn't let me leave the room. I finally talked my way out of there blessedly and made my way to the consulate and we even took a few SCUDS over the next few months in Jerusalem itself. I don't think we took any that night. As you know, only one Israeli was killed during throughout the Gulf War, and that was from a heart attack.

Q: How about were you getting in with Americans and others trying tget out of Israel at that time?

WINN: We weren't. The rush to the airport came from the Hasidic Jewish community. They were the first to leave. A notorious display of Let me out of here, Kimosabi. But people had already left to some extent. There was a rush for the exits, yes. Now in our case the families had already been given what is the term, not ordered departure, but voluntary departure. My wife as it turned out was already in France on vacation. She had chosen that time to go on vacation, and this became ordered departure, so the dependents that were already out were not permitted back in to her fury, to her absolute fury. No, it always remained voluntary. It always remained voluntary, but anyone who had the misfortune to be out then was not allowed back in. So, many wives did stay on throughout.

Q: I think that was a real problem. I've gotten through interviewwith Bill Brown who was ambassador.

WINN: Well, that's it, the name I couldn't recall. The problem lay in the Department's not allowing those who had happened to be out of the country to return. That was Renee's dilemma - she couldn't get back to Jerusalem.

Q: He was ambassador to Israel and then with Chas Freeman, particularly the problem with Saudi Arabia. We had a lot of Americans who were essential in running the oil fields even though they were closest to the action and if we got people, Americans out of other parts of the area, then that would cause the Americans, so I mean it was a very tricky situation.

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WINN: Yes, we were always voluntary. I remember the fury of my wife trying to get back, couldn't get back to Jerusalem. Wasn't permitted. Finally she came up with a plan of renting a house on the Israeli on the Egyptian side of the border down at Gaza. At least she could be within commuting distance to Jerusalem. By that time the war had ended before she implemented this plan. I remember that Bill Brown wanted it "ordered" for some reason and never got it. He was angry for a different reason. He wanted to get more money for the excuses if it was ordered. I've forgotten the reason why.

Q: I think then if it was there it was under government orders anthat meant they had to support the people who left.

WINN: Who left, right, as opposed to those who stayed.

Q: Otherwise it was sort of like a vacation.

WINN: Yes, but yet they couldn't come back. I remember being particularly irritated with Phil, because we had about a 48 hour notice that the war was going to start and I got on the phone to tell my wife to come back in a hurry. But the Department wouldn't let her come back, even though the hostilities hadn't begun. However, DCM Paris down in Tel Aviv allowed family members quietly to return without blabbing to the Department, even after the war had begun. He showed common sense in a practical concern for family welfare. Screw the rules. So, they really did diddle the family members. As I assume they diddle unto this day, but that was minor. Finally, because of her MS, after six weeks into this I had to leave to join her. You know, she couldn't even walk by then. I finally left Jerusalem to my bitter dismay. I didn't want to leave the action. I stayed for with her for three weeks, then returned. She came back a few weeks later.

Q: You talked about the Hasidic Jews.

WINN: Yes, that was not a very seemly spectacle, and many American Israelis, they got the hell out, too. We all had our gas masks. Some took it seriously, others didn't. I

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remember the Newsweek bureau chief Ted Stanger wouldn't even own one, much less put one on. He's a friend to this day now, he lives in Paris. It was an eerie feeling to be sitting in a restaurant and hear the siren go off and then to see the SCUDS at night. See the scuds go over, you could see them physically go on down to Tel Aviv.

Q: There must have been a certain amount watching these things heatowards Tel Aviv?

WINN: Yes, I mean, yes, well of course. Excuse me, I've got someone at the door.

Q: We were talking about you know watching the things heading down.

WINN: Yes, yes, down to Tel Aviv. We had a few hits in Jerusalem, but again no one hurt.

Q: How about, I mean, you know in your part and your fellow officers to see the Israelis jumping up I mean the Palestinians jumping up and down with joy. That must have really...

WINN: That really rankled us. We continued to live in these hotel rooms and we continued to go there to do our reporting realizing that there was no physical danger to us. The fact that has really irritated the hell out of us, yes, of course. The idiocy of Arafat declaring for Saddam. We had to tell him how stupid that was, and we just would press on with our reporting. I always take the Arabs with a grain of salt in any of their public displays. They felt they had to do it and we kind of rolled our eyes.

Q: Did you have any you and your colleagues have any feel for Arafat and his leadership?

WINN: Its funny, Arafat was a dimly perceived figure. We dealt with the Palestinian fellow named Hussein al-Husseini who died last year of a heart attack, but they would pay obeisance to Arafat, but we really had a very strong impression of a local, a local leadership - Hussein and his deputies. Arafat is a dim figure.

Q: He was in Tunisia.

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WINN: He was in Tunisia.

Q: Traveling around.

WINN: Our day to day contacts with the local guys. They had to tow the line when he came out and declared in favor of Saddam and of course, King Hussein for that matter. It's funny, the Americans seemed to have felt in Jordan they were in greater physical danger for some reason. They really pulled out fast there. There seems to be a greater sense of urgency. Well, its true though to be fair, we left East Jerusalem, of course, that makes sense. They were surrounded. So, as it turned out none of these bodily threats against Americans never did transpire.

Q: Well, you left there before the war ended is that right?

WINN: Yes, yes, and came back just two days after it ended.

Q: While the war was going on, did you begin to notice a change in temperature in the Palestinians as they were watching what we were doing and all?

WINN: You mean more hostility?

Q: Well, in a way less hostility, I mean a realization that Saddawasn't going to get anywhere?

WINN: Of course, I wasn't on the ground, but I will say when we got back I didn't discover any particular anger. The Arabs, the Palestinians are always going to see which way the wind is blowing. I didn't discover any resentment when I got back. The war was over and that was the end of that and okay, lets move on. If that helps you. Had I been there I might have noticed the fact that they accepted this with some resignation. But it was amazing how it was back to business as usual when I got back. It was back to the peace process. The Gulf War was almost forgotten.

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Q: On the personal side, it must have been a terrible strain on you obviously on your wife with this MS.

WINN: The house, the famous house in East Jerusalem, was a three story house so two of the stories were the living quarters and the third was a beautiful pool down below out, which I maintained out of my own pocket. Indeed the first year I was there was spent I must say in total preoccupation with her inability to get from floor to floor of the house, because her condition had worsened in Paris. Had her condition been as bad in Paris when I bid for the job, I never would have done so, and would have taken an offer to be DCM in Madagascar which of course in retrospect I should have done. Renee would have had much more personal care there - household staff, etc. My first year there was spent in equipping the house for a handicapped person, to include spending \$10,000 of my own money to bring in an elevator, a British made elevator. So, I was so distracted the first year. Inexplicably, the Deputy in Jerusalem is not granted the "perks" that a DCM in an Embassy is - no household staff or expenses. So it was hard finding people to help. The Israeli doctors would not set foot in East Jerusalem. I had to physically go up and take Renee to physical therapy in West Jerusalem and take her back. You can imagine. Half the day I wasn't even in the consulate. So, that was a big strain, yes. But Renee came back after the war, and passed away of liver cancer at Hadassab Hospital once she got back. It was one thing after another. No one looks back with fond memories of Jerusalem. It tends to chew up everyone who serves there. Phil did well. He later became head of S CT and acquired the title of ambassador, but other consuls general, it was almost as if the job cast a cloud over their career. It beats me why anyone would want to be consul general out there frankly.

Q: Did you ever get involved in, I mean to Israel proper, there was this constant stream of congressmen playing obeisance to... sort of like the ones that go to Rome and hit the Pope to make sure they look good to their constituents. How about on your side of the thing?

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WINN: They would come up and mainly want to see Teddy Kollek, the mayor, and occasionally they would want to, tour East Jerusalem and would want a settlements tour, not very often. We always had a bit of a tussle there. When they went to the Foreign Ministry they would be accompanied by someone from the embassy. When they went to see Teddy Kollek, they would be accompanied by someone, Phil or if he wasn't there, by me, and this always confused them because the embassy didn't deal with the mayor. Again, we always had the same problem: the Israelis would want to accompany visitors around the old city, and we would tell congressmen that they should not be accompanied by the Israelis around the old city since it was not officially under Israeli control. We had these absurd turf battles that they should be accompanied by me or Phil or someone or an embassy officer around the old city, but that we would not accept an Israeli escort. We wouldn't go with them if they insisted on an Israeli escort. Often a Congressman would take the Israeli position and insist that the Consulate officer not come! I remember once or twice giving senators, or congressmen a tour of the West Bank settlements, who was the guy? Senator Kerry the fellow who lost a leg in Vietnam, I toured him around. But many congressmen weren't that interested in the settlements.

Q: What about Teddy Kollek? What was your impression of him?

WINN: Well, I must say, I have to say that he pretty much lived up to his billing. You know so often these guys you know present one face, but no I think he was sincerely appalled by the settlements and the takeover of Palestinian housing in East Jerusalem. I think he was sincerely appalled by the encroachments in East Jerusalem. I heard him on TV recently and he talked that way privately.

Q: Did you get a feel or was this purely coming from the Israelside of the really hardlined settler types and all this?

WINN: No, I think they were harder lined than you could imagine. We would occasionally go talk to them, but boy they were bristling with guns. You would go into these places

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and almost invariably American immigrants from the Bronx. These guys were tough. I always referred to the average settler as a failed filling station attendant from the Bronx and that's only a slight exaggeration. These were just the worlds losers come out there to find meaning in their lives and they would set up these fortresses and they sure didn't want to talk to us. They were pretty mean guys and still are. Now, you got the occasional visionary, sincerely motivated by religion. But they were just a blinkered group if ever there was one out to recreate whatever they wanted to recreate on a mountaintop.

Q: Were they getting solid support from the Israeli government?

WINN: I think so sure. The Israeli government had troops around these settlements. Yes.

Q: Looking at subsidies?

WINN: Oh, subsidies, the whole thing, sure, sure. I mean they are a pretty mean bunch out there and I don't know what to add.

Q: Well, then you left there in '92?

WINN: '92, yes. Well, it was time to come home without any regrets except having gone there in the first place . I was offered a job as Deputy Director of the Office of Southern European Affairs, which one might think, you know, Spain, Italy, all that. Well, no. Southern Europe is Greece, Turkey and Cyprus.

Q: Oh boy.

WINN: Which is fun enough. I had fond memories of Greece from my days as an exchange student. The Office of the Director David Ransom, later ambassador to Bahrain, a good friend to this day. I hope you interview him.

Q: I've interviewed David and Marjory.

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WINN: Great, great people. They live right around the corner here. That was a very pleasant two years. David was replaced by a fellow named Marshall Adair who later became president of the American Foreign Service Association. He was a nice guy, haven't seen him in years. You know, its the standard desk officer job. There's working abroad and there's working here. Here its the usual day to day shuffling papers, you know, neither pleasant nor unpleasant, just another job.

Q: Well, this would be '92 to '94?

WINN: Yes, there's not much to say about being deputy director oSouthern Europe except the constant Greek Turkey thing.

Q: Well, how?

WINN: Well, it did show me another side of the Greeks, which I'd sense when I was there in '59. The religious orthodox conservatism that later came out during the Balkan War, they recently did a poll and the majority of Greeks think Osama was right. I mean virulent anti-Americanism and blinkered hatred of the Turks and of course the whole Cyprus thing. Its a side of the Greeks that's not pleasant. Lets put it that way.

Q: Well, I spent four years in Greece.

WINN: There you go.

Q: I left with absolutely no regrets.

WINN: Right and so do most Americans. Its a very self-righteous. Well, you know it better than I. I mean dealing with the American Greek community on a subject of Cyprus it was like the Maronite Lebanese, but without the veneer of courtesy and hospitality the Lebanese have. I mean just brutal, cutthroat, were right and they're wrong and were going to kill them all. But, you know, otherwise it was another job, very interesting group

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of colleagues and good group of colleagues out there in the embassy. I liked the Turkey brief in many ways more, the Kurds, I've always liked the Turks and I've always had great respect for Turkish diplomats. I always thought they were very good wherever they were. But the Kurdish issue was the one that rankled us in Washington, what to do about the Kurds and the human rights angle.

Q: Well, lets talk about the Kurds. How did you all view, thKurdish problem?

WINN: We had the PKK, you know the terrorism angle.

Q: Yes, but there's also the Kurdish enclave that we were protecting in Iraq too at that time?

WINN: Yes, although that was another world, handled by another office. When we dealt with cross-border issues it was always Armenia, Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Kharabak. Once a week I would attend a meeting about what's going on in Northern Iraq, too. It was mainly just monitoring. I had no role in the programs there in Iraq. The Kurdish programs. The guy who was the head of the office there, John Newman. He's now our ambassador to Bahrain. We have a consul general in Adana, Turkey who also reports on the Kurds. We always had the Kurdish human rights issue balanced with the PKK problem.

Q: Which was the? The Marxist or very leftist liberation?

WINN: Kurdish liberation group.

Q: Which was a terrorist.

WINN: Terrorist, yes, at least according to the Turks.

Q: I mean its not one that we should cozy up to.

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WINN: No, no. So, it was always how to write the human rights report and the unhappiness of the Turks with the human rights report. Our occasional demarches on you ought to give them more freedom of, for example, since 1991 they have been allowed to use the Kurdish language in their schools. What to do about a constant irritant, let's put it that way. It's one of these constant irritants that every once in a while that we could address, but didn't know really what to do about it.

Q: Did we see Turkey as being quite separate from the Middle East?

WINN: Absolutely to the Turks' delight. They want to be part of Europe. They are part of the Middle East to the extent that they are friendly with the Israelis, and to the extent that the Syrians are terrified of the Turks. The Syrians have great respect for the Turkish army and mind their p's and q's in northern Syria. That was a separate issue. Almost never did the Turks intersect with the Middle East. I rarely used my experience in the Middle East in that office. It was another world in many ways, yes.

Q: In a way I sort of had the feeling that well since 1974 when the Greeks made their play to take over Cyprus and the Turks said, "Enough of this nonsense" and put troops in there. We keep raising the issue of doing something about Cyprus but at this time were we doing, did we?

WINN: We actually had a special representative in the Department for Cyprus, and still do. Representative or special coordinator or something, a guy would go to his office every day to worry about Cyprus.

Q: I mean isn't this a sop to the...

WINN: Yes, a sop to both sides and a succession of these guys have come and gone. I've forgotten the term we used, but each day we'd go to his office and mull over Cyprus

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and then he'd go home. Of course he would visit the island from time to time and the talks would go on as they go on to this day.

Q: I mean, by this time when you were dealing with this, this was 90 to 94 about?

WINN: Yes.

Q: Was it, were you kind of looking at this as being a pro forma thing. I mean in other words, Cyprus is pretty much the way it was going to be.

WINN: Pretty much. It's pretty much the same, ten years later. We always took our various negotiating stances very clearly, but I mean the best, the most we ever expected to see any change on the ground had to do with occasional hopes that the capital's airport would reopen. Also, perhaps a change of a few hundred yards, transferring the border one way or another, so that a ghost veritable no man's land could be opened up. I recall thinking there is a serious possibility that the Nicosia Airport might open, but that never happened, but no, that's pretty much it. Pro forma thing. Just trying to maintain relations for God's sake between both sides was a major feat. So, it was kind of a discouraging thing. The Turkish beat was always a little more interesting. At that time, as there is ten years later, much talk about the Caspian pipeline. What's it going to go through, Turkey or Azerbaijan or Iran, that was always an active issue.

Q: Did the collapse of the Soviet Union happen by that time?

WINN: Well, it happened while I was in Jerusalem, yes. So, you had the interesting and now forgotten project of the Turks wanting to reintroduce Turkey Turkish into Central Asia and Turkish diplomats trying even to reintroduce the Turkish language. It was a big project there. Returkification of Central Asia.

Q: I know I was in in 94 I was in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan.

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WINN: Golly.

Q: We had a little terrible substandard cottage for our embassy anthe Turks had built quite a substantial embassy.

WINN: Yes, its funny how I think that project had sort of fallen into abeyance, but that was the big thing at the time. Again, with Armenia and Nagorno-Karadakh a constant tedious irritant. Also, the closure of the border between Armenia and Turkey and our constant efforts to reopen commercial traffic.

Q: Why was it closed?

WINN: Oh, I don't know; there had been some falling out. There was a railroad that actually went into Armenia; the gauge changed with the Armenian border. We were trying to work out some arrangements by which they'd take the car off and put it on a different gauge railway. I cant remember how long it had been closed. The Turks may have closed the border to assert pressure on the Armenians. For all I know its open now.

Q: Did you have to deal on the desk with the Armenian genocide o1916?

WINN: That was another irritant. Congressional efforts to introduce resolutions condemning the genocide, deploring the genocide, and our efforts on the Hill to help the Turks, saying this wont be helpful and don't do it. I think we were pretty successful, actually.

Q: I think so, it keeps coming up.

WINN: It keeps coming up, but we were successful, yes. Again, all of it pales in comparison to the heartburn and rancor that you get on any Arab desk. We were the poor cousins of the European Bureau, remember? So, it was kind of fun. My boss David

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Ransom was often out there on official business, so, for weeks on end, I was the office director. It was fun.

Q: Then in '94 was it?

WINN: Well, my tour was up in '94 and I was trying to figure out what was looking like my last two years in the Foreign Service. There were only a couple of political officers promoted in the mid-'90s. No one was getting promoted, so I was kind of looking for a fun post. I was looking for kind of a fun post and this job came up, a Consul General in Dhahran which wouldn't be fun, but certainly would look good on a resume for future private sector employment, so off I went to Dhahran.

Q: You were in Dhahran from?

WINN: '94 to '96.

Q: '94 to '96.

WINN: Yes, that's when I left the Foreign Service. Dhahran was a grimly interesting post, a very unpleasant place to live personally, but I remarried out there, which is a good memory, and the Saudi experience in retrospect has been invaluable in light of September 11th. I don't know, I'm happy to keep talking or we can do it another time.

Q: Well, lets talk about Dhahran.

WINN: Sure. It was a different post, given the Saudi ambiance. I don't see how any American who ever served in Saudi Arabia can feel any emotion other than loathing of those people with the obvious exception of occasional individual Saudis. That's where I think NEA and Arabist apologists have gone too far in tolerating the Saudis abuse. Forget the terrorist angle, the sheer abuse of 50% of humanity. I regard with incredulity any colleague who has a kind word to say about the Saudis, and any American who can stand to work out there. I felt this way long before I left, long before the bombing in Dhahran.

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I left the night of the bombing of the U.S. military barracks, by the way, and long before September 11th. On the other hand, my living among the Saudis has proven invaluable, because what has come to pass is what I and my wife predicted at the time. Ill never forget her telling the DCM in Riyadh, "These people hate us. This is Islamic, bloody minded Islamic fundamentalists and they all, they want us dead." I remember her vividly telling the visiting DCM from Riyadh and he condescendingly said, "Look Heidi when you've been in the Foreign Service as long as I have, you will learn to be a little more tolerant." Well, he was dead wrong, and a week later they blew up the barracks in Dhahran, and years later we saw September 11th. Have I made myself clear on my feelings about the Saudis?

Q: Well, in Dhahran, I speak, I'm a Dhahran myself.

WINN: But the Saudis you knew were different.

Q: Well, its a whole different world.

WINN: Yes, its a different world.

Q: It wasn't great, but it were talking 1958 to '60. I mean it wadifferent.

WINN: Oh, it was a different world. You didn't have the huge population pressures, the Saudi birthrate and the present Islamic fervor. The Saudis themselves are scarcely aware of the motivations that are driving them now. It has been so gradual, so the Saudi Arabia at that time, and indeed of the '70s is now a dim memory. So, if Im speaking too harshly of my colleagues, that time was not the Saudi Arabia of now.

Q: But, still, I mean, you know, we were dealing with Abdul Aziz, who was...

WINN: That's right and he lives on out there, in memory.

Q: He was one of the guys who climbed, the 13 who climbed the walls of Riyadh or something.

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WINN: That's right. Great old photographs. Now its a different world.

Q: Yes. Its still a desert kingdom.

WINN: But it's a different world then when you were there. Its sbizarre now.

Q: Yes, because we had a lot of very quick, very dedicated Arabists.

WINN: Yes, a different world now.

Q: Well, anyway, first of all, how did you meet your wife?

WINN: Oh, she was a colleague that I had known back in Washington when she was working Palestinian issues in the Department. I met her within weeks of returning to the States in '92. She was assigned to Amman of all things in '94 and I was assigned to Dhahran. So, we commuted back and forth and decided it was time to get married. So, we got married in '95 and she finagled an assignment to Dhahran until our return in '96. Once we were married it was not a separate tour. She was in Dhahran for the last year I was there.

Q: What was the government of the eastern province like when yowere there? How did you find dealing with the authorities?

WINN: A very, very cordial group. I have fond memories of the official Saudis I dealt with, despite my harsh comments on Saudi society as a whole. The Saudis in the Eastern Province are far and away the most enlightened of all and the governor of the Eastern Province, gosh, prince, what was it, Prince Mohamed, one of the sons of King Fahd. Very cordial relationship with the Saudi authorities. When I say the Saudis as a rule, I'm talking about the culture, although I dislike the hypocrisy of the leadership. They still have their women confined like veal calves, but the Eastern Province Saudis are relatively enlightened. The governor used to tell me, I see all these ARAMCO women running

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around in the abaya and that's not necessary. It undermines my efforts to promote more tolerance for Westerners out here. So, I was irritated at the American women who wore the abaya, would go around completely covered when they didn't have to. I cite that as an example of how tolerant the Saudi leadership was in the Eastern Province. It was a different world. You know we didn't have a problem with the mutaween, for example.

Q: These are the religious police?

WINN: Religious police, yes. The old days of the Dhahran that yoremember in many ways lingered out there.

Q: Our consul general went to the Governor and was he said, You know, I have a problem. My officers are being chained. He said, What is this? He said, Well, they are forced to do women's work. He asked, he said, What are they doing? He said, In America, the wives run all the errands in cars and my officers do women's work. So, we reached an agreement where the women could drive between ARAMCO and the air base and the consulate.

WINN: No longer of course.

Q: Yes, but I'm saying, it shows at that time.

WINN: Right. There you go. I recall hearing about that. Well, of course, no woman could drive by the time I got there anywhere.

Q: Did you get any feel or were we even looking at what was being taught in Saudi schools and all that because that's only within the last month or two come up?

WINN: I did some reporting on it, and the result of that kind of education emerged with the bombing of the Air Force barracks in '96 and also September 11.

Q: This was the Marine Air Force barracks?

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WINN: Air Force barracks, sorry.

Q: Its called the Khobar Towers.

WINN: Khobar Towers. We left the very night of the bombing, to my eternal regret, bad timing, but I remember within two weeks of returning here being invited to a seminar by John Duke Anthony and his group here that promotes Gulf-American business. At the seminar, the Saudi DCM was present. We were talking about what had just happened in Khobar Towers and what did I think about the situation in Saudi Arabia, and asked me my opinion on the future of Saudi Arabia, and I said, "The Saudis need urgently to address their educational system. This religious oriented isolated educational system that is just promoting, I didn't say hate, but it certainly is not helping our situation." The Saudi DCM took umbrage at that and said, "Who are you to criticize an educational system that hasn't changed for 800 years?" I said, "Well, point taken." I cite that example which my colleagues remember. I was aware of the educational problem, but and it struck me for some reason toward the end of my tour, and it struck me because I had dealings with the Saudi schools and the insistence of the Saudi authorities. I was shocked by the curriculum that American women married to Saudis had their children to go through. Even the best intentioned American women married to a Saudi still had to put her children in Saudi schools. They would come in and complain to me, for example. Pictures of little animals, baby animals, Bambi, who had to have a line drawn across the throat to show that it was really dead, to show that its throat had been cut because the fundamentalists couldn't portray a living creature, according to the Koran. The strict Islamist was not going to allow the depiction of a living animal, or human, certainly not a human, but even an animal. Then I began to look into the curriculum on my own. Now, this certainly didn't become a big deal in Washington until recently.

Q: What were you seeing or looking at this growing population?

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WINN: The topic of the embassy, the embassy in Riyadh, the constant topic was the population explosion and falling aid revenues. That was as I recall a reporting topic throughout the two years I was: the pressure on the economy and the pressure on employment or unemployment. Not that they were lining up to work, but the Saudi government at the same time began to be worried by all these armies of unemployed youth, and instituted a program of "Saudization," requiring foreign firms to hire Saudis. There was virtually no mention of the educational curriculum. By the way, only last week the embassy in Riyadh produced a wonderful magnum opus on the Saudi educational system. None of that then, certainly though on the population explosion. It was huge. The highest in the world. The Saudis were proud and are proud of the fact they have if not the highest, the second highest population growth rate in the world. They constantly compete with Kenya on this point.

Q: I mean at that time were they seeing this as a problem?

WINN: No. They see it as a fact, but not a problem. The reason I say that, I just heard a program on the BBC where King Abdullah is encouraging Saudis to reproduce. Saudi economists are talking to the BBC that this is a problem, but it is not even remotely being addressed by the Saudi government now. I'm quoting the BBC. Despite the fact the per capita income of Saudi Arabia, when I was there was that of Mexico. You know \$25,000 down to \$7,000, now its down to about \$4,000, but population growth is never addressed by the Saudis as a problem. The only problem to them is how to create more jobs. Astonishingly.

Q: Did you find Saudis for example beginning to go into manual oservice type work?

WINN: Very sporadically. They would insist on being hired by the banks, the American banks and even ARAMCO. They would always insist on managerial jobs, but I never saw then what I gather one can see now, Saudi bellhops at the hotels. I never saw a shred of evidence of it.

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Q: Did you get any feel for the radicalization of the young people?

WINN: Just the sheer looks Americans would receive on the street. My wife picked up on this. It was the sheer hatred and hostility with which we would be viewed, by that I mean looked at, physically viewed and the growing incidents of occasional pushing and shoving and threats against American women down in the Eastern Province. The growing belief on the part of ARAMCO women, they simply had to wear the abaya, despite what the governor said. It's funny how my wife picked up on it. You could see the looks, you could go into the back streets of Dhahran and see the relatively poorer living quarters and the zeal with which prayer time would be enforced. We did have the reappearance of the mutawaeen when I was there. The zeal with which Saudis would glare and shout at us if I would try to enter a McDonald's with my wife. I can remember thinking when that bomb went off in Dhahran it had to be Saudi inspired, but it was all sort of subliminal.

Q: During the time you were there, outside of getting blown up afteshortly when you left, how about our military?

WINN: I had very close relations with them and actually testified under oath upon returning here to the fact that the Brigadier General in charge of the base could not be blamed for any lapse of judgment in Dhahran at the time. His career was ended because of the explosion. I had some very close relationships with the succession of brigadier generals who commanded the air base there. They only stayed three months at a time, although General Schwalier came out for a year tour. I had great respect for all those guys. These were the guys running the no fly zone over Iraq. Indeed they took me up in an F-15 once. We had a very cordial relationship and I had nothing but admiration for the way they ran their relationship with the Saudis. A wonderful group of military people over there.

Q: The military wasn't a particular irritant, was it?

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WINN: Not to the consulate and not to the Saudis. They certainly stuck to themselves over on the air base. We rarely saw them. They were scarcely allowed to leave the base. They were a constant presence with these jets flying. You always knew they were there. They were constantly breaking the sound barrier. You got used to it, constantly hearing these enormous explosions. Indeed, I was physically still in the Eastern Province when the barracks were blown up. I just thought it was another incidence of the sound barrier being broken or perhaps a plane crashed. We got in the car and went to the Bahrain Airport. I didn't realize what was happening until we got to Amsterdam. No, they were not, they rarely left the base. They were certainly no irritant to the Saudis. The Americans went to great lengths to respond to Saudi concerns. I never heard the governor complain to me about any military problem.

Q: How did you find the Americans at ARAMCO? What sort of breewere they?

WINN: That is the weirdest culture on the face of the planet. New Yorker Magazine, asked me, I knew a writer over there, asked me to write an article on how strange it was over there. I didn't do it of course, but that is another planet. As you know, physically you drive out of a parched desert into a nice green retirement community. Now a retirement community, though its changed over the years, they still have their stills, still would make their booze.

Q: Sadiki juice.

WINN: Sadiki juice and occasionally these stills would blow up, witgrievous injury.

Q: Yes. I mean the consular officer has to run out there.

WINN: So, that culture lived on. They had the 20 and 30 year veterans living on, little contact with the Saudis, no knowledge of the Middle East. To them Saudi Arabia was the Middle East. They would refer to being in "the Middle East," but they never set foot in Jordan or Syria, they would fly back to Houston or they would fly out to Bangkok and

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buy jewelry. No, little awareness of the world around them. Physically never left the ARAMCO compound. Been there 20 and 30 years, socking the money away and retire to the retirement communities in the States composed of other ARAMCO retirees.

Q: In a gated community.

WINN: Gated in more ways than one, but again the Saudis, the crackdown had long since begun by the time I arrived there. For example, prohibition on Christmas decorations. Absolute prohibition on any Christmas lights or the mention of the word Christmas. They referred to the x word. Occasionally you would see a Santa Claus in a backyard that would be stealthily displayed to me, but no observance of any Christian religious holiday, no mention of it, pointedly ARAMCO employees were expected to appear on work on Christmas day at work. Worst of all, the Saudis beginning to live on the compound. The beginning of what at that time seemed to be the beginning of the end, particularly with the "Saudization" program. Now, I gather the Draconian measures by the Saudis had been retained while at the same time the exodus of Americans for job reasons stopped. As I was leaving a lot of Americans were being let off, laid off as Saudis took their job. That apparently didn't work and they were all asked to come back. Now in the wake of September 11th, some people are leaving just because they are scared, but it's the oddest group of people I've ever met in my life, in their own little world over there, raking in the money. Very friendly group. Tended to drink rather too much when they came over to my house. Nothing new there because it was the real stuff.

Q: You left in...?

WINN: That was, I left to retire in '96. We came back here where our daughter was born and then I accompanied my wife to Syria, and that's another story, but none of which you could be interested in on this tape, since I was retired.

Q: All right. Were you used at all?

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WINN: In Syria?

Q: Yes.

WINN: I went out there with the expectation of somehow, working for the Dutch Shell Oil Company, but in fact there are virtually no jobs for foreigners in Syria. No, the private employment I thought I would find out there didn't materialize and I ended up doing two things, running the commissary and running the USIS International Visitor Program. So I spent most of my time taking care of our daughter. It was not until I got to our next post, Pretoria, that I really found good employment. It was a frustrating time, but Syria is a very interesting place. The last day we were, the next to the last day of our tour in Syria, the U.S. sent a few SCUDS into Iraq. The Syrian government authorized a huge mob of thugs to trash our embassy, the Residence and the school, which was next door to our apartment. We left under a cloud headed for Pretoria - one of the most delightful parts of my entire Foreign Service experience. We returned to Washington in 2000, and I have been working as a WAE in the Department and on a contract since then.

Q: *Well, its probably a good place to stop under a cloud.*

WINN: Under a cloud.

Q: *Great.*

End of interview